1: Opler

NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

791
● 756
887
463

/For specific information on "the attendant", an older woman of the tribes who acts as a helper and advisor to the girl under-going the Chiricahua puberty ceremony, see category 793 (for specialists in organized religious activities) and 881./

846 [845] [757] finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the ceremonies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] [826] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 823 788 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 756 [759] Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cradle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor [556] family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

> [556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.
>
> I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."
>
> Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.

> One of the relatives goes to the man who knows the ceremony. He says, 852
> "We have been unable to bring up our children. We need you to help us." 756
>
> My relative sits there. He just makes some kind of sound in his throat first.
> Then he says, "Well, I'll do it. But I need a buckskin with a piece of turquoise [801]
> tied at the middle of the head and a yellow horse. Give two other things, anything
> you wish, just so it makes four, a set of four."
>
> They get these things together and bring them to him, and the ceremony
> takes place.

Once he has accepted the task, the shaman busies himself with 322
the construction of the cradle. With prayers and ritual, oak, ash,
or walnut is gathered for the ovate frame, and sotol or yucca 854
stalk for the cross-pieces that will form the back of the cradle. 824

> For the back part of the cradleboard, the cross-pieces are of sotol if the cradle [852]
> is for a boy, and of narrow-leafed yucca if it is for a girl. The sotol, which
> is jagged edged along the leaf, is called the boy, the "he"; the yucca is called the [756]
> girl, the "she." These plants are brother and sister, we say.

This sex distinction, however, is not acceptable to all.

A canopy to shield the child's face is made of the stems of red-
barked dogwood, mock orange, or Apache plume. A piece of ash
connects the frame and the canopy, and ash or oak is used for the
footrest. The bedding is of wild mustard, and a pillow of
Solanium trifolium prevents excessive movement of the head.
The buckskin covering for the frame is usually colored with yellow [386]
ocher. In the buckskin which covers the top of the canopy,
symbols are cut which sometimes have sex value. The girl's cradle [531]
is usually decorated with a full moon or half-moon; the boy's
cradle, with a cross or four parallel slits.

Some feel that cradleboard materials may be prepared in advance 852
but that, once actual construction has started, the work 756
should be finished the same day. Others permit the outer frame 322
to be made on one day and the cross-pieces and canopy on another.
Still others have no strong conviction about the length of
time to be allotted to the process as long as the cradle is ready [782]
when it is needed. It is assumed that all steps in the construction
have been accompanied by prayers for the welfare and long life of [854]
the infant. The shaman ties protective amulets on the cradle—
bags of pollen, turquoise beads, and pieces of lightning-riven [789]
wood.

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
•756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he
may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with
pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions.
One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for
whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held
to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding
in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to
hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to
gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[574] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to
[601] one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental
term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even
though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[852] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does
[856] not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cradle.
After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[482] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead.
Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle
[492] strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over
the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle
751 to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Hummingbird
claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms.
[753] To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child,
[824] a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
cradle.
[784]

Occasionally, a cradle is burned at the death of the child. This 766
alternative usage conforms to the customary death practices, 768
for all of an adult's combustible possessions are ordinarily de- [352]
stroyed by fire at his demise.

A still serviceable cradle, if the child for whom it was made is 854
alive and healthy, may be used for a newborn sibling of the same
sex. Nevertheless, a cradle ceremony is held for the new baby. 852
The more usual practice is to fashion a separate cradle for each 352
child.

There are no conventionalized cradlesongs, but the mother 854
often croons some such improvised lullaby as, "Little baby, go to
sleep again." "Sometimes it goes way up and makes you feel 533
sorry for the baby. It almost makes you want to cry." To quiet a fretful child, a man or a woman swings the cradle and sings a vigorous tune accompanied by such words as:

This, my little baby!
This, my little baby!

FIRST STEPS

Life is conceived as a path along which individuals must con- 852
stantly be helped by ritual devices. This trail must be followed
exactly as the heroes of mythical times are said to have jour- [761]
neyed along it. It is appropriate, therefore, that the baby's first [771]
steps should be ceremonially celebrated.

Since this rite is purely symbolic in nature, it may occur before the child actually begins to walk or some time afterward. It will not take place until the child is at least seven months old, and it has ordinarily been held before he is two years of age. On this occasion the infant dons his first moccasins, an aspect of the rite
which gives it its name, "Putting on Moccasins." As in the other [756]
rites, practitioners who "know" this particular ceremony must
be hired. Depending on their "way" and the wealth and impor- [556]
tance of the family sponsoring the occasion, the ceremony will vary in detail. The account that follows summaries the basic pattern.

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took him in a clockwise circle four times. After four prayers, T. sang four songs. 852
Then we sat down. [788]

Next T., and after him all the others, marked that little boy just as the girl
is marked in the puberty rite. After that, T. prayed, took a drum, beat it four [801]
times, and started to sing. All those who knew his songs helped with the singing.
Four songs were sung before he stopped. They were about Life Giver [another [533]
name for Yusn], White Painted Woman, and Child of the Water, of how the [776]
earth was made and how the fruit grew, of how Child of the Water was born and
reared under the fire and how the monsters were killed.

Now prayers were said by D., and another set of songs began. The people were dancing in there, women and men, boys and girls. They danced in place. The women uttered that call of applause[6] when the names of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman were mentioned.

There were two more sets of prayers and songs. D. said the prayers. They had me sit in the center with the boy, and they all danced around us. The boy was not bashful. He danced up and down and looked around. He was only about a year and nine months old.

D. and T. said the last set of four prayers. When the people playing the hoop- [431]
and-pole game heard about this, they all came up, for they knew we had presents
there to give and that the end of the ceremony was near.

D. picked up the moccasins. He put pollen on them and lifted them to the 852
directions. He put pollen on the boy's foot and put the right moccasin on first,
then the left. "Now you can run," he said. The boy put his foot right in; he 788
was glad to do it. Everyone said, "He's just like his father."

Finally the presents were blessed. D. and T. put pollen all over the baskets [431]
of fruit and presents, and a man began passing out these things to the people.
He gave some to D. and T. first. He gave them tobacco. Then sweets were [574]
passed to the children. Then other gifts were distributed. After this was over,
the big meal began. They feasted that day. That night T. lifted the boy up to [821]
the moon from the four directions so that he would grow tall. [856]

SPRING HAIR-CUTTING CEREMONY

The spring, usually the spring following the first-moccasins 852
ceremony, "when everything is starting to grow and the grass is 302
coming up," is chosen as the appropriate time for a brief hair-
cutting rite. The child is brought to a shaman who "knows" 756 ●
supernatural power useful in safeguarding and training children. The man or woman selected must have thick hair. "If a man performs this ceremony and the child grows up to be a fine one, other parents come to him."

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[6] A high-pitched call of the woman, signifying reverent or ceremonial applause. [198]

852 The minutiae of the ceremonies differ, but a composite description,
302 distilled from some half-dozen separate accounts, reduces
to the following elements. Pollen from cattail or from one
•756 of a number of other sources is applied to the cheeks and head of
788 the child four times and scattered clockwise to the cardinal directions.
Then his hair, with the exception of one or more locks, is closely cropped. Meanwhile the shaman prays for his long life and good health. The shaman may cut off a lock of his own and mix it with the shorn hair, saying, "May this child's hair be as thick as mine." The hair is usually placed in a fruit-bearing tree with this prayer, "May many seasons come and the child live long." The pollen on the child's face is not removed but is allowed to wear away. Each boy and girl should undergo this ceremony at least once. Ideally, the rite should be repeated for four successive springs, with the same individual officiating.

It is about this time that weaning takes place. Gradually, as
862 teeth appear, the child is introduced to light foods so "it will not
[853] be so hungry and demand the nipple so much." Sometimes the
baby is simply forced away from the breast and given to understand that he must henceforth depend on other food. More often something sour or peppery, like chili, is put on the nipples. The child is told that the milk "is this way now" and rapidly loses interest in nursing.

SURROUNDINGS

596 The household into which the child is born is one of a cluster
of elementary families related through the maternal line. Near
621 an older man and woman reside their unmarried sons and daughters,
361 their married daughters and the sons-in-law, their daughters'
daughters (married and unmarried), and their daughters' unmarried sons. The number of separate dwellings varies according to the size of the group and the ages and marital status of the individuals involved. Each daughter, upon marriage, occupies a
[591] separate dwelling with her husband. Ordinarily, an unmarried
son lives in his parents' household, but an adult unmarried son might have his own adjoining dwelling.

596 It is with the members of this maternal extended family that

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In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of
painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by 302
the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular 788
iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the [755]
ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals [386]
whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose
cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or [531]
various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part 304
of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more
tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained [386]
from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, [824]
from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and
punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, [531]
and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes
these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, [756]
one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed
markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is
merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and
after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and 301
pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient [172]
people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise.
These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua
pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments [824]
of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the [789]
mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious
and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently [237]
worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear
it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has [755]
cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the
patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men 832
who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls. 302

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper
garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins 291

755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] [825] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote or dog had made him sick.[7] One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] [823] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] [756] [533] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote. They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith,
Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony
[775] lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through
for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

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[7] Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

755
told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on
another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they 775
would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate 869
the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their 756
pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects.
He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman 765
and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and
threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world
to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources [753]
of disease--snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit
homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires
the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of
the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses,
and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related 869
concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early trans- 761
mitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never
gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother
thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come
back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been
afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of 869
some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead 765
person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the
deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance [553]
thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's [291]
clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it
was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child [855]
from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around
his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thorough- [775]
ly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medi- [824]
cine." [789]

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so 887
the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old 276
person prayed and lit it for him." 888

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The 888
band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local 554
groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of
extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to [619]
rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head [622]
extended families. With his children and grandchildren around
him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That [603]
older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact be- 603
tween the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually 596
the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected [591]
members of the extended family. The family is the realization
of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried [593]
sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law [606]
are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless 603
ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are
present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute [852]
whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these [756]
grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the [553]
cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grand-
child. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual [574]
for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves [736]
the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate,
the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

> My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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> 603 paid to him. My father said the old man was kind to him, was always gentle with him, and used to advise him. He took more trouble with him than other relatives did.

[538 867] The maternal grandparents, who are the approved raconteurs for the children of the extended family, function to a considerable degree as teachers, for a good deal of instruction for the young comes obliquely through stories.

603 868 [855 462] The influence of the maternal grandparents is not limited to oral instruction. While the younger men are hunting or raiding and the younger women are away gathering food or getting wood and water, the care of the children and the performance of camp tasks fall to the older people. The grandfather makes arrows, ropes, and many other objects. Often his grandson watches him or even assists him. The grandmother cooks, sews, and weaves baskets, occasionally pausing to explain her methods to her granddaughter.

603 869 756 Ceremonial knowledge may also be received from the grandparent. Many rites result from personal experiences with the supernatural, but a certain number are passed along to others by those who have had such individual encounters. When a ceremony is transmitted, it is most often taught to a relative. Usually a shaman is reluctant to reveal his secrets until he feels that the end of his life is near and that his ceremony will perish with him unless a successor is found. Thus there is a tendency for very old persons to seek younger relatives as their understudies in things ceremonial. The grandchild often proves a promising candidate, especially if he is not too young during his grandparent's declining years.

603 The paternal grandparents usually cannot hope for a great deal of contact with their son's child. At marriage their son has left their encampment, and his obligations are to his wife's relatives. Yet when it happens that the father's parents do live near the extended family into which their son has married, they take pleasure in being with their grandchildren and may even rival the maternal grandparents in solicitude.

601 603 Four kinship terms, one for each grandparent, label the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Since they are used as self-

868 I will continue to make you get up early in the morning just as
882 you do now, but you will have to do more than that. You will
become a raid and war novice."

The term that has been translated here as "novice" denotes
the status of a youth who is advanced enough in his training to
enter the final phases of preparation for actual raiding. Some
informants use the word only to refer to the participant in the
[884] four raid or war expeditions which elevate a youth to the full
status of a warrior.

868 The initial training of the novice (using the word in the less
868 restricted sense) does not differ greatly from what has gone be-
883 fore:

> When I was a boy they began training me as a novice. To be a novice means that you cannot disobey but must train yourself as your elders say. . . . . Many a young boy at fourteen was as well trained and dangerous as a soldier.

> My father did his best to train me just as he had been trained when he was a young boy. He gave me all the ceremonial training he had once been through himself too. When I was ten or twelve years old he began to teach me and was very strict with me.
>
> He would say to me, "You must have your arrows and your bow where you can grab them. Keep your knife beside you. Have your moccasins ready. Be on the alert in peace or in war. Don't spend all your time sleeping. Get up when the morning star comes out. Watch for that star. Don't let it get up before you do." That is the kind of teaching a boy gets when he is a novice.

868 The reference to "ceremonial training" suggests that more
883 than purely practical measures are involved. The parents pray
782 for their son's success and future safety, and he may be taken to a
shaman whose ceremony is known to be of special benefit to
• 756 novices. "The shaman prays that the boy may be free from
[787] harm. A yellow light shines on the boy's head. It follows the
boy and makes a circle back to the shaman. That means that the
boy will come back safely. The shaman smokes and sings."

868 "At about fourteen years of age the boy starts hunting with
883 the men." Usually an older man who "knows" a great deal about
224 deer goes along and marks the tips of the young hunter's mocca-
sins with blood from the kill.

000 At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure

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At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

868 883 492 825 756 787

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

868 515 526 481 [827] [834] [784]

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

868 526

> I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.
>
> 866
>
> Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.
>
> One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."
>
> "Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."
>
> In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."
>
> 866 868 526 525 [273] [435]
>
> Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.
>
> Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.
>
> In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-
>
> 868 526 866

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000 839 754 privately ridiculed. Perversion seldom occurs and is not countenanced; it may even be equated with witchcraft.

864 The elders do not rely entirely on implicit attitudes and the demands of the training process to guard their children from undesirable sex scrapes but provide continual supervision as well. When an unmarried girl goes to social dances, she is accompanied by an older relative. Or she herself may be put in charge of a younger child so that she will not have time for an assignation. Her mother is strict and watchful. She tells the girl not to permit any intimacies from men or boys before her marriage and warns her about bearing unwanted babies. "A girl who goes wrong is usually one who has no close relatives, no mother, father, grandparents."

881 864 The mother, the grandmother, or some other female relative gives the girl counsel as the time for her first menses approaches. She is told that menstrual blood is dangerous to men and is instructed how to keep clean. She is encouraged to endure bravely the possible accompanying pain, for "as long as she acts like a child she is going to have a hard time at menstruation."

881 842 It is at this time that the girl may have a ceremony performed over her which results in sterility:

> No woman should be sterile. There is no excuse for any woman not to have children. That's the way my people talk and feel about it. The trouble is that those who are sterile have been ruined right when they came of age, about the time when they had their first flow. A girl's own mother might have a woman fix it so the girl won't have children. The father won't know anything about it. Sometimes the mother, who has had children and knows the pain and hard time of it, doesn't want her daughter to have children. There are women right now who know this kind of thing. S. and B. have had no children, and this must be why. Those who made us made every woman to have children without exception if not interfered with.

842 578 756 Often a similar charge is directed against a jealous shaman who has been called for some other service but who has taken advantage of the opportunity to injure the girl:

> We didn't have children for the first five years. We didn't try to prevent it. Then my wife found out that when she was young and sickly an old woman gave her some medicine. She didn't know it at the time, but it turned out to be medicine to prevent children. Some Indian women do this just for meanness.

842

> Her grandmother told her this. It was the same with her sister. Her sister had a child, but it took a long time. 578 756

The boy is exempt from the strict supervision to which the girl is subject. They "warn the boy about having a bad reputation. Boys are instructed all right, but you can't keep a boy back." 864

Yet there are a number of dangers against which the boy has to be warned. He must be advised that contact with menstrual discharges will make his joints swell and ache. He must also be told that "sometimes boys have sexual relations with old women; that is why they die." Because unmarried girls are so sedulously restricted, there is always the possibility that a youth may thus jeopardize his health: [841] [753] [833] 864 826

> Sometimes a boy would go around with an old, experienced woman. Bad blood gets into him from these bad women. He gets arm aches and leg aches. Sometimes he gets aching all over like this before he is thirty years old; sometimes he is dead from it before he reaches this age. 753 833
>
> This is because he is giving his richest blood [semen] to these older women and getting nothing in return but their diseased blood [vaginal discharges] which they got from having intercourse over a long period of time with other men, some of them sick and old. The people laugh at a young fellow who does this. He gives his young, good blood and prolongs and saves that woman's life.
>
> I know a woman like that. She is an older woman who has been having intercourse with all kinds of men. J. was a young man. He became intimate with her and was very sick almost at once. She is still living and still doing it. The young men just shorten their lives by going with women like this. The bad blood that they get from such women comes out in lumps and sore joints.

It is usually the father who counsels the boy in these matters; often he adds frightening details: 864 [593]

> I was taught by my father, "Don't do anything to any woman. They have teeth in there. They bite off your penis. And some have diseases." I've heard many parents say the same thing to boys.
>
> Once my father gave me something sweet. He said, "You like this. You like to eat it; it tastes good. You like to live and be well. Then keep away from girls and women. Don't have anything to do with them. They have teeth and will bite off your penis."
>
> Finally I asked some older boys about this. They told me, "No, the old people just tell that to you to scare you. There isn't anything to it. When you get a good thing, don't let it go. If you live long enough, you're going to do it anyway, so you're just going to be the loser if you let a good chance pass."

881 During the ceremony the girl is constantly attended and ad-
793 vised by an older woman. Because this woman punctuates cer-
[198] tain moments of the rite with a distinctive, high-pitched cry, one
name for her is "she who makes the sound." The first use of this
[773] cry of applause is attributed to White Painted Woman when
her son returned to her after vanquishing the monsters. The
[481] helper is also known as "she who trots them off," a reference to
the ceremonial run on which she sends the girl. For the sake of
convenience she will be called "the attendant" in these pages.

The role which the attendant plays in the girl's puberty rite amounts to a separate ceremony which fits, like part of a mosaic, into the ritual whole. These women, when they become too old to carry on their duties further, teach their lore to others and thus perpetuate the office.

Unlike the rites of shamans, the ceremony of the attendant is
knowledge which was granted humankind by the supernaturals
[787] in the beginning. No personal experience is at its root, and it is
[424] simply learned by one woman from another. Once it is learned, it
is, however, an individual possession. The woman must be personally approached and asked to lend her help, and she may even refuse to participate. She must always be rewarded if she does perform the function.

The place of the attendant, then, is somewhere between the
purely individualistic shamanism which predominates in the re-
ligious life and true priestcraft. Even here a suggestion of the
• [756] purely shamanistic premise persists, for women who "know" a
[787] ceremony from the moon or who have had a supernatural experience with White Painted Woman are thought to carry on this ceremony with best results. Although exceptions are reported, the attendant is most often a woman of advanced years, in keeping with the custom of having elderly practitioners carry out ceremonies for younger people.

Within reach of any large encampment are women who have the right to act as the girl's attendant. "The choice of the woman who attends the girl is up to the parents. They can choose any woman they want." The understanding with the attendant is reached well in advance:

> When they are just beginning to talk about the ceremony, the girl goes to the 881
> woman who is going to take care of her. She brings an eagle feather to this 793
> woman. The girl holds the butt end and motions four times with the tip end of
> the feather toward the woman. The woman takes it the fourth time. Then the
> woman will take care of the girl. She will rub her and push her out to run.
>
> Right from this time the girl calls that woman "mother," even though she is [571]
> no relative, and this woman calls the girl "my daughter." And they give each [431]
> other presents throughout life. [608]

The most conspicuous ritualist of the ceremony is one who 881
will be called "the singer" because it is his primary task to su- 793
perintend the erection of the sacred shelter in which the songs of 533
the rite are chanted and to sing the songs.

The role of the singer also hovers on the border line between
shamanism and priestcraft. He does not depend on a personal [787]
supernatural encounter for obtaining his songs, nor does he believe that he can intercede for the benefit of the girl through impromptu appeals to supernatural forces with which he is in special rapport:

> I became a singer just through experience. I was interested. Every chance I got I sat inside the tepee and sang the songs. I went to the ceremony every time and learned the songs. I connected myself with this ceremony over forty years ago and learned it from the ground up. I approached one of the men who conducted the ceremony and asked for help. The one who is learning to be a singer gets instruction right at the ceremony. When he has enough experience, he conducts it himself. It is very simple. The prayers don't take long to learn. In the course of two or three ceremonies, even, the songs can be learned. I gave no payment to the one who instructed me.

The fact that no payment passed between this man and the [424]
one who taught him the songs is convincing proof that the songs
are not a personal shamanistic possession but are conceived of as
the sacred property of the people as a whole. A shaman seldom [756] •
parts with his ceremony unless appropriate payment is made
both to him and to the supernatural source involved.

In the selection of the singer the greatest forethought is exercised:

> Well, suppose you were an Indian here and you had a granddaughter who was growing up. You would come around and say that you wanted your granddaughter to be White Painted Woman. You know me very well, and you say to me, "There are three or four men who know how to sing for this ceremony. Just

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him 881
presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of 793
the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of 533
one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, [431]
but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides
now. He had to do it according to the Indian way.

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals 881
the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance.
But for most of the guests the feasting, the social [574]
dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the
greatest attractions.

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent 881
mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves 535
possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" [776]
them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the [532]
painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important
ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite [756]
when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent [751]
girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been [755]
contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious [789]
matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one
of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty
rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless [789]
the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures [755]
privately on request, their main function is to engage in several
spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers.

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked- 881
dancer shaman: 756

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start 535
thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They 574
say, "Let's ask the old man."

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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881 who know songs to help. I'm paying for your good time. I'm having plenty to
• 756 eat for all of you. I'm a poor man, but still I'm doing this. Let's all help and
have a good time."

535 Then anyone who knew the ceremony of the masked dancers and felt like it
574 could paint dancers for him. Afterward he might ask more definitely to be sure
he'd have somebody. He would go to a man and say, "You know the ceremony of the masked dancers; you help me this time."

If no one comes up to my father to ask him to do it, he won't do it. I have seen him just let it go. He can see more at the feast grounds, have his meals like anyone else, and have a better time than he can spending his time at his camp painting dancers. I think that many times it looks as though the old man doesn't want to do it. But these feast-makers ask in such a way that he can't refuse. Sometimes he goes away, and when he comes back there is someone waiting for him, begging him to help.

When they asked him to do it, my father used to complain. He said, "Those people ask me to paint masked dancers. But they don't help me out with the equipment. They don't know how much work it is doing this for four days. It's tiring. They don't help as they should." Then the people who were giving the feast had to scurry around and get equipment if my father was short of things. They sometimes had to ask other people for buckskin and things that were needed.

There was S. He said to my father, "I want you to help me out; paint those masked dancers for me." His girl was going to be White Painted Woman [that is, was going to have the puberty rite performed for her]. Then my father said, "All right, but you must do your part. You must feed my dancers. It is hard work. You must feed them in the morning, at noon, and at night." S. said he would do it.

So my father went out. He tried to get the right men to dance for him. He came to me. I didn't want to do it. He asked another man, a good dancer, and he said "No" this time. Then the feast people had to help out. My father went back to them and said, "I'm willing to help, but I can't get enough good dancers." He referred the whole thing back to them.

Then they came to me and pleaded with me. "We'll give you a whole side of the ribs and your wife can get all the food she wants down at the place where we are cooking for the crowd." And they offered me something else valuable, too.

Some of them come up in a pitiful way and say, "I'm a poor fellow. This feast is for everybody. You can dance better than anyone else." So you have to sympathize with them sometimes. If they just have to have you and it looks as though you are not going to do it, they call you "brother" even though you're no relation to them. They say, "Don't refuse!"

The relatives have been watching those painters of masked dancers. They notice who makes good designs and turns out the best dancers. The dancing is just to make the celebration lively though. The masked dancers do not affect the health of the girl by their dancing.

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo! You could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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535 522 When the masked dancers are out there just for the good time of the people, it isn't necessary to have a clown with each set of dancers. Sometimes the shaman doesn't even paint a clown. He doesn't worry about it. If someone wants to be one, all right; but he doesn't ask anyone to do it. If someone wants to, he says, "All right, get your own equipment then." The clown is not counted in the set. [755] A man may paint four others and a clown. But when they are dancing to cure sickness, the clown is supposed to be the most important dancer. The old man told me that the clown has more power than any other masked dancer.

The clown won't talk to the people when he's dancing at the time of the puberty rite. He only motions. He's just there to make fun. The people give him directions, and he goes and does what they say and makes a fool of himself just for the fun of it. He will roll on the ground if they tell him to. He dances all over. He may be in the lead or he may come last. He has no special position. It is not dangerous to touch a clown as it is to touch another masked dancer.

535 522 203 The clown is the servant and messenger of the masked dancers. You notice that he runs over to the group of men who are singing for the dancers and bends down and says something. He is saying, "The dancers out there [resting in the woods] want to smoke and they need tobacco," or, "They want you to sing a 'high-step' dance song for them."

If you are a masked dancer, you can tell the clown to deliver a message for you. He goes among the people; it's all right for him to do it. People are all saying, "There's the clown. What is he after?" He gets near your man. Then he leans over quickly and delivers your message. And he's gone like a flash.

When I was a dancer, I used the clown. The girl I sent a message to is still living here. Just as we were going out from the fire I motioned to the clown, and he followed me. I told him, "See that girl by the wood pile. Tell her that I want to see her over here when the next dance begins." Pretty soon I saw the clown going toward that wood pile. He talked to my girl.

The next time they danced, I didn't go in. I went to the place where I was going to meet the girl. I had my mask on, and people I met couldn't see who I was. I was waiting there. Pretty soon I saw a girl coming. I jingled my costume to let her know I was there.[6]

535 To continue with the account of the preparation of the masked dancers. The men who are to dance, strip, don the kilts and moccasins, and stand or sit facing the east. The shaman puffs a pre- [756] [782] liminary cigarette to the directions while he recites an extemporaneous prayer such as this:

> Under the heavens to the east, inside Big Star Mountain, can be seen the great Black Mountain Spirit. His body has been designed and the uprights of his

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[6] It is dangerous to touch, speak to, or point at a masked dancer only when he is dancing or actually impersonating a supernatural.

> 535
> headdress have been made with the big star. Against these diseases I use the [782]
> sound of the Mountain Spirit rattling his headdress as he dances to the fire. By [756]
> means of it I walk the earth. It drives all evil away. With it I perform this ceremony. With this I walk. That is all.

"They always start to paint the leader first. It doesn't matter 535
who is finished first though." Helpers apply the paint with sticks 302
which have been pounded, softened, and sometimes turned back [413]
at the end. Even the finger is used if the work has to proceed
quickly. The helper, who has seen the masked dancers of this 535
shaman perform many times and may have acted as dancer for the 302
shaman himself, is usually familiar with the designs. What in- 756
formation he lacks is supplied by the shaman. Often masked dancers assist in painting each other.

> Anyone can help the shaman paint the dancers. The shaman sits there and tells them what to do. Sometimes he paints too. When he has several men around, he will have everybody working on them. He will be singing and praying while they do it. I've never asked about this part. They start painting in the late afternoon. It takes some fellows longer than others. It doesn't make any difference whose masked dancers are first on the grounds below.
>
> I painted masked dancers once. I was already painted myself and ready to go out. They were a little behind. I just went over and put the marks on one of the fellows to help out. I went ahead and did it while the shaman was there singing.

During the painting the shaman sings, beating a pottery drum 535
with a curved drumstick. Should these songs not be sung in the 302
right way, "the masked dancer would fall down like a man 533
knocked out by a blow if he should touch another masked dancer 756
down on the grounds." According to one masked-dancer sha- [534]
man, his songs "call on the Mountain Spirits to give the dancers endurance," and so his dancers are able to "stay in there a long time."

These songs which accompany the painting of the dancers are 535
sung as memory and convenience dictate. The allusions in them 533
are to the themes associated with the ceremony, to the "holy [302]
home" where the ritual was learned from the resident Moun- [787]
tain Spirits, to the sounds made by the pendants of the head- [776]
dress and kilt as the dancers trot to the fire, to the cardinal [823]
directions from which the Mountain Spirits guard the Chiricahua
against all sickness and danger. The prayer or softly and quickly [782]

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535 533 [782] [539] uttered recitation which separates the choruses can be freely translated as follows for one of these songs:

> Inside the holy home
> At the place called "Home in the Turning Rock,"
> The Mountain Spirits, truly holy,
> Rejoice over me to the four directions
> And make sounds over me.

The words of another of these songs show a forceful and vivid imagery:

[539]

> In the middle of the Holy Mountain,
> In the middle of its body, stands a hut,
> Brush-built, for the Black Mountain Spirit.
> White lightning flashes in these moccasins;
> White lightning streaks in angular path;
> I am the lightning flashing and streaking!
> This headdress lives; the noise of its pendants
> Sounds and is heard!
> My song shall encircle these dancers!

[574] [264] When the body-painting is finished, the dancers eat the generous meal provided for them by the feast-makers. It is nearly dusk now, and soon the great fire will be kindled below and the people will gather to see the entrance of the masked dancers.

[756] [782] While the shaman chants another set of four songs, the dancers line up in a row facing the east, headdresses in hand, praying and asking to be blessed. Of one of these songs the informant said:

> I'm going to sing an old song. It's very valuable. It is sung when the masked dancers are standing there, painted, dancing in place, and ready to go out, shaking their headdresses. This song is called "Earth's Song." It is sung very slowly.

[539]

> Thus speaks earth's thunder:
> Because of it there is good about you,
> Because of it your body is well:
> Thus speaks earth's thunder.

535 [198] [532] [788] As these songs are sung, the impersonators gyrate clockwise, uttering their call at the mention of the Mountain Spirits and motioning with their headdresses to the directions. The buckskin masks have been moistened so that they will be pliable. At the conclusion of the singing, the dancers, including the clown if

On the mask, at the forehead or nose
535 region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise.
532 One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength,
825 and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the
[823] abalone."

535 At its top the hood is attached to the horns[8] or uprights by
532 spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked
[824] in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end
[322] this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which vertical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings." These strike against one another, making a sound that has become a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the
[822] uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);[9] red "would be used
[754] only by a witch on a masked dancer horn."

535 The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the
[756] edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to sing for the masked dancers.

535 But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further,
755 for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fiction of their purely social function at the puberty rite is maintained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a private matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

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[776] [825] [8] That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guardianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[386] [9] Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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881 not undergone it is not cheerfully received by members of a raid-
868 ing party he seeks to join. "Some do not volunteer. They are
702 looked down upon. They cannot go on the warpath." Yet the
721 youth who is unprepared is not goaded into premature participation. "If a boy thinks he can't stand it, he doesn't go." Nor does any boy start out ignorant of what he faces: "When a boy wants to volunteer, his relatives tell him of the hardships and dangers. If he still wants to go, they let him."

Once a boy has declared his intention of becoming a novice, he receives advice to guide his conduct during the four expeditions:

> The first four times are important because, if a man shows himself to be unreliable and disobedient these first four times, that will remain his nature throughout expeditions and battles. The boys are told this, and they try to be at their best during this time. So they don't cause much trouble.
>
> While you are a novice you have to watch out for your morals. If you are
> [834] loose when you come back from one of these expeditions and have a lot of sexual intercourse, it will be your nature through life. Boys are instructed from the
> [867] start about this. These things are impressed on them: "Don't be a coward;
> [577] don't be untruthful; don't eat too much when you come back to camp between raids, or that will be your nature." So during the entire period the boy puts out his best [effort] and behaves his best.

881 One informant testified that the necessary information was
868 imparted to him by his father. Another claimed that "a relative
702 teaches the boy; a special man is not needed." Yet from still
other accounts it is clear that shamans whose rites center about
• 756 the location and frustration of the enemy and the granting of
721 invulnerability in battle often prepare the youths for these
journeys. Their selection is logical, for "these shamans, the 'bow
[714] shamans,' also make the jackets and other things which protect
[561] a man in battle." Often a number of young men of the same age are put in the care of one shaman.

> All the volunteers are gathered and instructed by the shaman. They are taught the words and how they should conduct themselves. They are given a general outline of what they should do. It takes just a few days to learn.
>
> [714] The inexperienced boys who are on the raid for the first time have a certain kind of hat. And they are the only ones who have the drinking-tube along. The
> [271] drinking-tube has a scratching-stick attached to it; that is, on the same cord.
> [413] This scratching-stick is about five inches long and is made from the wood of any tree that bears fruit.
>
> [714] The shaman in charge of the boys makes the hats for them. There is no pay-

> ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

881 868 702 721 756 [714] [271] [782] [788]

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

881 882 702 721

> The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.
>
> If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast. There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.
>
> Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.
>
> Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

881 868 702 721 784 [777] [826] [413] [271] [834] [192] [777] [262]

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[821] [522] [576] [513]

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[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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dreams of the dead and of their return.[1] But from other sources 787 this omission (owing perhaps to fear of dwelling upon such a dangerous topic) is repaired. "If you see a dead person in your sleep, you're not going to last long," said one informant. So feared are such dreams that special precautions are often taken to prevent them: "Clothing, especially moccasins and hats, [291] should not be put above or under the pillow or about the head of [828] the bed at night, for this causes dreams about ghosts." [513]

The importance attached to dreams other than these varies from individual to individual:

> Some people are very much guided by dreams. Some people are recognized as very true dreamers. But I have just ordinary dreams. All my dreams are about raids: I am always running away from Mexicans. I also dream a great deal about dances. I am always in there dancing. I recognize a Mescalero woman in there, and I am always dancing with her. Sometimes I am standing there and I wonder, "Why doesn't someone dance with me?"
>
> My dreams run on the order of war. Long ago the government had Western Apache scouts to track down the Chiricahua. I dream that they are making a raid on my people. I am trying to get away from them. I climb into a tree, and then I always wake up.

Still another commentator disclaimed any reliance on dreams for himself. "I can dream plenty of things, some good and some bad, and I don't pay any attention to them." But this same man admitted that the dream could act as a vision experience and guardian spirit for others, whom he called dream shamans, saying:

> We must be dream shamans, like P., to know what these dreams mean. Only [756] the one who knows, who gets a vision with it, is all right. You can get more of this from P. He's an old man. He's about the oldest man here. He believes his dreams are true. When he dreams about the peccary, it means something bad. When he dreams about deer, it means something good.[2]

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[1] There are two kinds of "death dreams." To dream of the death of living [154] persons is made psychologically acceptable by interpreting it to mean the opposite. But dreams of the return or the sight of the dead are among the most harrowing of experiences.

[2] It is interesting that the good omen, deer, an animal much sought by the [825] hunter, should be contrasted with the peccary, an animal that most Chiricahua [262] will not taste.

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•756 Fortunately, the dream shaman to whom reference is made
787 has given an account of his powers:

> I have been guided during my entire life by dreams. They have helped me against sickness and against danger. My first dream came when I was but eight years old. In those days there were few white men here and no such thing as a railroad. I dreamed that I was riding on a black cloud. When I awoke in the morning, I said nothing, but I always remembered the dream. When the railroad came, I knew that it must have been a train on which I had ridden in my dream. This was a prophecy, and, although it was my first dream and very long ago, I have always remembered it.
>
> I never think about dreaming before I go to sleep. The dreams always come unawares, and, whenever there is danger ahead, I dream a warning. Whenever someone is sick, I dream of what plant to use as medicine. In case of danger I used to see the enemy leader face to face, and he would tell me when the battle was to occur. In sickness I would actually see the plants to use. All my dreams have come true. I consider myself lucky and ascribe my present age to dream help. I have been in many battles, but my dreams have told me what to do, and so I have never been wounded. I tell my close friends about my dreams and help them too. I must be a shaman or I couldn't dream this way.
>
> I can dream and see who is a witch too. Once at Fort Sill, in a dream I saw a bunch of men walking along over rocks and chewing them like bread. I knew they must be witches, because who else would chew rocks? I couldn't recognize the men because their backs were toward me, but I knew they were Chiricahua.
>
> The most vivid dream I have had occurred when I was traveling with a group. One night I dreamed that there was a great number of soldiers coming from the east. Their leader rode at the front of the troop and came directly up to me. I asked the leader where his men were going, and the soldier answered that they were coming right to the point where the Chiricahua were, that they had orders and had to come. The leader spoke his own language, but I understood nevertheless. That ended the dream, and I awoke.
>
> The next day, in the morning, we saw a large group of soldiers coming from the east. Before they got near we mounted and rode to a near-by mountain. From the mountain we watched the soldiers and noticed that they stopped right where our own camp had been. They made camp and stayed until noon. So everyone saw that my dream came true. The soldiers were too many, so we didn't attack them. Besides, the leader didn't tell me in the dream that we would fight; otherwise there certainly would have been a battle.
>
> The last dream I had was about my grandson. He had been to school and had caught tuberculosis, and, when they thought he wouldn't live, they sent him back here. They took him to the place where his other grandfather lived. At that time I lived there too.
>
> I prayed for the boy every night for a week. After the week was over, I had a dream. I dreamed that a huge deer was approaching the place where the boy lay.

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It came from the east and kept approaching him, then backing away, approaching again, and backing up, and kept doing this.[3] I tried to chase the deer away with a stone, but it wouldn't leave. After the dream, the boy began to get well at once. I believe that, when I dream about a deer acting in such a manner, the sick one begins to get well and is safe. After the boy began to rise from his bed I kept praying for him, and he got better and better. He regained his appetite and got well.

Not only does this man use his own dreams for revealing the future and for curing but he is consulted when someone who is not a dream shaman has a disagreeable dream: "Not long ago D. had a bad dream, and since that time he has been meeting with P., and P. has been singing for him."

Not all persons who enjoy a special knowledge of dreams use them on behalf of clients: 787

I am guided by dreams. That is the only reliable information. I get special knowledge and wisdom in dreams. It is the power of the dream that carries me away and shows me the truth. Other people do not generally know about my power. It is just personal with me. I do not give general advice.

Still, this man's dreams served more than purely individual interests when he learned through them that his brother was in danger:

A long time ago I had a dream telling me that my brother and I were going to be killed in the morning at the time the sun is up just a little and things warm up. The dream told me that the troops were close and that a certain man was causing evil influence over us [sorcery] and was going to cause us to be killed in battle. The way to avoid it, I was told, was to go off before sunset to a spot where the sun, when it rises, first strikes a certain hill. During the dream it seemed that someone was shaking me by the hair and trying to rouse me.

I awoke, went over to my brother who was camping near by, and told him about it. My brother said, "No, I don't believe in these dreams. I have dreamed pretty bad things myself, and often thought I was going to be killed, but I always came out all right." I pleaded with my brother, but it did no good.

I went back to my camp, and my wife went over to my brother and advised him to do as I directed. But my brother told her, "No, he is just dreaming; that's all."

I went up to the place alone and did what had been directed in the dream. I walked in the sunlight to all the directions, beginning with the east and moving sunwise. Then I prayed a little and went back. Soon the enemy came and the battle started. My brother and another man were the only ones killed.

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[3] The masked dancers use this same technique in curing (see p. 274).

[755]

COSMOLOGY AND SUPERNATURALS

773 Ritual, poetry, and prayer often refer to the time "when the earth was new" or "when the earth was created," yet there is no tale that describes the event. [776] Parents, in talking with their children, credit Life Giver with the creation of the universe, but they offer no details and expect that faith in this deity will be later supplemented by interest in some more concrete manifestation of supernatural power.

821 Ideas concerning the relations of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature are often associated with personal supernatural power or with folk beliefs:

> [778] [782] [533] We did not discuss whether the world was round or flat. The old people used to say that the sun is as large as a mountain. I think that the sun and moon are in fixed position and that the heavens move. There are men who get power from the sun. They have songs and prayers directed toward the sun. It is thought that the sun goes into the sky at an eclipse. The moon does this too.
>
> During the summer rainy season the sun has a moccasin string made of rotten material, and it breaks and breaks. The constant rain makes it rotten. That is why we have a long day; he cannot move fast. But during the winter the sun uses yucca fiber for a moccasin string and goes pretty fast, for he does not have to pause much to bother with his moccasins.
>
> The moon is as big as the sun. Darkness interferes with the moon; therefore, we do not get so much light from the moon. The stars are thought to be pretty big too, as big as the moon or sun but set back farther. We notice that some are fixed and some travel, but we do not distinguish the two kinds by name.
>
> • [756] A sun shaman would know all about the sun. But I'm no authority. I can only tell you what I've heard. I don't think that what I know amounts to much. I know that different men are telling stories in different ways. They may say that what I say isn't so. That's why I don't want to go into details.

[184] Consultations with other members of the tribe revealed some disagreements in details but left a similar impression of the unorganized state of the cosmology.

Feminine qualities are attributed to the earth, and one informant definitely stated, "The earth is thought of as a woman." [778] [756] Moreover, in all ceremonial contexts the earth is called by a term that is said to mean "Earth Woman."[4] But, except to a few shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths. [821] [756] [778]

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[4] Dr. Hoijer claims that he cannot analyze the word to give this meaning literally and says that it is an instance of folk etymology.

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons. [805]

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning): [821] [776]

> This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.
>
> Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People. [823] [172]

> . . . . They are persons and you can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. . . . . The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself. [778]

> The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky: [773]

> During a thunderstorm we go, "*piʒ, piʒ,*" in imitation of the bird called *piʒe* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too. [825] [789]

776 More feared is Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is responsible for drownings, and "when anything disappears at the water, they suspect Water Monster." "He is a swallowing monster. He would just swallow people up, and they'd disappear. There is a spring near here where they say there is a Water Monster. At Whitetail there is a spring like this. Even horses go there and never come out."

THE SHAMAN AND POWER

756 554 *The personnel of shamanism.*—In the great enterprise of traffic with the supernatural there is no hierarchy of religious leadership:

> There were not a few shamans. Supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Most of the people have some sort of ceremony, little or big.
>
> Shamans aren't ranked: each person knows a different thing, so no one is better than another. If you have the ceremony for a certain thing, you have it; that's all. If a shaman can't help you, he just can't cure you, and you get someone else.
>
> [789] One thing, like the power to make someone run fast, is enough to make you a shaman. The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman. A little rite makes you a shaman just as much as a long elaborate one.

Yet individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve more than average renown:

> Those well known for their ceremonial work were usually pretty well off. They depended on ceremony for a livelihood to some extent, but they went along on hunts and did all the work that the others performed too. [431] When men came back from raids with booty, they were given many gifts. People went out of their way to help them.

756 726 554 At a time of strife the shaman whose ceremony pertains to the thwarting of the enemy may gain markedly in prestige:

> The shaman whose work has to do with war had a strong part in politics and could rise to a position of power. But ordinarily a man with another ceremony is just like anyone else. Geronimo got political power from the religious side. He foresaw the results of the fighting, and they used him so much in the campaigns that he came to be depended upon. He went through his ceremony, and he would say, "You should go here; you should not go there." That is how he became a leader.

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But it must not be overlooked that a person's supernatural 756
experiences are often conditioned by his special abilities. Those 554
who excel in warfare, for instance, are likely to attribute their [787]
success to supernatural help and to seek evidence that their actions are divinely guided. There consequently takes place a convergence of prowess in war and "power" for war.

Women are not barred from the acquisition of supernatural 756
power. "Women can have any power. I knew a woman who had 562
power from the Mountain People. She directed the making of the dancers, just as any man does. She died at Fort Sill." Few ceremonial privileges are denied to a woman. She may not impersonate a Mountain Spirit or use the sweat lodge. But "there are many women shamans, and they are as powerful as men. Women are capable of conducting ceremonies on an equal footing with men."

The time of the acquisition of supernatural power.—Mundane 756
knowledge alone is not considered a full guaranty of a satisfactory life. "The Apache has help for everything against which he
has to contend." "We have shamans for all purposes. There is a [796]
ceremony for nearly everything in life. There are ceremonies for sickness, love, hunting, war, and so on. All these are recognized."

It is understandable, therefore, that every individual should 778
anticipate the time when he will gain strength beyond his own or 787
any human resource. The need for such assistance is sometimes 756
felt very early in life. It will be remembered that a dreamer to whom reference has already been made placed the first dream to which he attributed importance at about his eighth year.[7] Another whose dream assumed ceremonial significance likewise experienced it during childhood:

> When I was a young boy, I had this experience and I was told that I would live to be an old man. Old age was promised to me, and I got it. The power told me, "You shall see your country again, but you shall be alone." I have lost my family, all except two boys. The power told me, "When you get old, you can tell about the ceremony." That is why I tell you this.

In another account two children, "a girl about seven years old and a boy a little bigger," acquire power.

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[7] See p. 192.

855 Despite these several instances, to obtain a ceremony before
778 or at the age of puberty is the exception rather than the rule.
787 Since most children are without supernatural protection of their
789 own and are, furthermore, particularly susceptible to certain
● 756 kinds of "evil influence," their parents and other close relatives
assume responsibility for them and provide them with amulets,
arrange crisis rites, and hire shamans for them when necessary.

778 But whether or not an individual has formerly been concerned
787 about supernatural aids, he seldom ignores them after he enters
585 into the marriage relationship, for now he must afford super-
756 natural protection to others, just as it was provided for him.
Time after time, when supernatural power approaches someone and asks what is desired, the person is represented as replying, "Something good for my children in this world," or, "Something to help my family."

Encounters with supernatural power, then, can occur at almost any moment in an individual's life, but relations with power and the use of power are essentially adult pursuits, of immediate survival and social value to the newly married in their hope for a stable and fecund union.

756 *Supernatural power obtained by direct experience.*—No matter
778 how eager a man is to acquire a ceremony, the first gesture is always attributed to the power, for power requires man for its complete expression and constantly seeks human beings through whom "to work."

> It seems that these powers select for themselves. Perhaps you want to be a shaman of a certain kind, but the power doesn't speak to you. It seems that, before power wants to work through you, you've got to be just so, as in the original time. You've got to believe in things as in the old days and carry everything out.

Not only does power come unbidden but it has more than one way of making itself manifest:

> Some hear it; the power speaks to them. Power usually comes in a voice to the one who is getting a ceremony. The songs and words are from the power that gives the ceremony. A person doesn't fast or prepare for it. It comes on him. Sometimes it appears to a person in a vision. F.'s vision went around the dwelling like a blessing.

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Solemn obligations and even serious dangers attend the acceptance of supernatural power. Therefore, the first meeting with the power source is often a testing of opposing forces.

Suppose I was going to become a shaman tonight. The power would have many ways of letting me know. I would have to meet the power and follow its directions. It might say, "Well, S., you get up on that mountain over there about noon. I will let you know just what I want you to do."

It's just like anything else; flattery has to come in with this power. This power will be boasting about me. It will say, "I can't find a better man than you are. I like your ways. There are many men here, but I can't find a better one. You are the very person for me. I want to give you something to live by through this world, because you will meet with many difficulties. This ceremony from me will help you, and you will live well. I will speak to you up on the mountain tomorrow at a certain time. Have nobody with you. Come by yourself."

I might get this message right in my own camp. It doesn't have to come when I'm sleeping. I might be wide-awake. They say the power sometimes wakes you up when it wants to speak to you.

I might reply to the power when it comes, "I'm a poor fellow, and there are many other people here good enough for that. Let me alone. I don't want your ceremony." . . . . It is said that some fellows have done that. They claim it is more dangerous to take it than to refuse it sometimes. They say some power might help you nicely for several years and then begin a lot of trouble. You might have to sacrifice your friends. Then if you refuse you might get killed yourself.

But, if I am not afraid and am interested in this power and this ceremony, I will go up the next morning. Then it will appear in the form of a person or as a spirit. "Well," it will say, "you will be a shaman and have power from the sun."

Before this I don't know what the rules of sun power are. There may be some rules that I may not like. I may not be the person who can agree with it. So it tells its plans to me, how good it will be for me and how much it likes me, and I have to decide.

Disinterest or sorrow, as well as distrust concerning the "goodness" of the power, may also act as grounds for refusal:

At Fort Sill there was a man whose eldest son died. Shortly afterward the father was sitting by a campfire and something sat with him. It spoke with him and told him it had come to tell him something. He asked who it was, and it told him it was Buzzard. Buzzard told him to consider what he was being told, that it wanted to give him power so that he would be able to see things that otherwise he could not see. He was promised that he would be wise and would know everything going on in the world and that he could find anything lost if he took this power.

The man refused to accept this power. He said, "If you were going to give me

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your power, why didn't you come before my boy died? I needed it then; I suffered. Now I have nothing to live for. Your power is of no use to me now." And he told Buzzard to go back to the place from which he came. Then Buzzard disappeared.

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But in most instances the offers of supernatural power are accepted. The source of power may approach in a dream or, if the person is ill or overwrought, in a vision. But dreams of the acquisition of power are not classified with ordinary dreams and, indeed, are not interpreted as dreams at all. Of the experience with the buzzard just recounted, the informant said, "This was no dream either, because a man can tell the difference." If a person is asleep when supernatural power attempts to contact him, he considers that the power awakens him and that what follows is a real occurrence.

Power first makes its presence known by the spoken word, by some sign, or by appearing in the shape of some bird or supernatural. Whatever its first guise, it later assumes a human-like form and converses with the chosen individual. If the person approached is responsive, the details of the ceremony which he is thereafter to conduct are revealed to him, usually at the supernatural home of the power, within or near some well-known landmark.

This "holy home" is of the greatest religious significance to the shaman. He describes its beauty and wonder in the story he tells his patients of the origin of his rite and sings of it in his songs. It is a concrete evidence of his experience. If he feels that his power is dissatisfied with him or that it is deserting him, he journeys to this place to pray and to receive some reassuring sign.

The first trip to the holy home is the means, often, by which the power tests the faith of the novice and determines whether he is the kind of an individual through whom it should work. Frightful animals guard the portals through which the candidate is conducted; insecure bridges, steep inclines, and forbidding elders challenge his way. But, if desire for a ceremony is strong enough, he reaches the very center of the power's abode and gains the knowledge for which he has come.

Here are revealed to him the songs, prayers, and ritual ges-

tures of a ceremony. He learns what functions the rite can per- 756
form, what ceremonial presents to request from those in whose 787
behalf it is exercised, what restrictions to impose on patients, 778
what design elements, what paraphernalia, what sacred substances to employ. He may be advised to wait a certain number of months or years, or until he receives some signal from his power before using the ceremony. Therefore, "even a man's wife may not suspect he knows the ceremony" until the auspicious moment arrives.

After the ceremony has been learned and the understanding with the power source has been established, the new shaman is conducted to the point from which he started, or he finds himself suddenly transported there.

The nature and sources of supernatural power.—Supernatural 756
power is, in the largest sense, the animating principle of the uni- 778
verse, the life-force. Again and again, shamans have terminated a discussion of the authenticity of power by exclaiming, "It is alive! It speaks to me!"

Since it is the office of beneficial supernatural power to perpetuate life, it must find ways in which to heal, warn, and guard mankind. These mediums are the familiar channels—the animals, the birds, the personified supernaturals, and others. The manner in which some of these channels themselves contribute to
life and health is self-evident. Venison is a staple necessary to [262]
maintain life. Therefore, supernatural power working through [825]
the personified essence of the deer is a logical source of a ceremony to make the deer obedient to human needs. Or, since the mountain lion is a mighty hunter, power obtained by contact with the personification of this animal may be useful to the same end.

But the maintenance of well-being is not alone a matter of 756
procuring food. Inimical forces and creatures must be counter- 755
acted. When, for instance, someone has been bitten or fright- 825
ened by a snake, a snake shaman is hired to use a ceremony derived from a supernatural experience with Snake to force the reptile to repair the damage it has wrought. This lends a homeopathic flavor to the ritual practices, in which a snake ceremony

756 is expected to cure snake sickness, a horse ceremony is used for
755 anyone thrown from a horse, and a deer rite is employed to bring
825 luck in the hunt. However, the horse shaman may feel that his
ritual can do other things besides procuring new horses, finding
lost ones, and healing those injured in mishaps with horses. The
logic of some of these extensions is not always self-evident.

756 The medium through which supernatural power appears to a
778 person is always considered by him to be "alive" and capable of
active communication with him. But this does not mean that only animate beings, in the ordinary sense of the word, are considered as possible sources of supernatural power. Any object or force of the external world is potentially animate for the candidate for supernatural power. Moreover, some object which is alive and communicative for one person need represent no such qualities for another:

> Some say that the earth talks to them. They get their ceremony from that.
> [823] Some say the wind has life. Some say the mountains, like the San Andreas, have
> life. Anyone who gets power from it says, "That mountain talks to me." The old people tell stories that show that all things have life—trees, rocks, the wind, mountains. One believes that there is a cliff where the Mountain People stay and that they open the cliff and talk to him. I have heard old men say that trees, rocks, and mountains have life.

[827] An instance of the latitude permitted in such assertions is the
case of a man who claimed to receive special knowledge from his
[787] own anal flatulence. This evidently acted more as a sign, comparable to muscular tremor and the dream, than as a true ceremony. Yet a number of informants have seen in this man's abil-
[525] ity a variety of supernatural power. At any rate he is alleged to
have used it in games of chance.

In spite of such novel developments, the revelations of power tend to cluster about certain familiar animals, natural forces, plants, and supernaturals.

There is no definite arrangement of powers in order of efficacy. Power derived from "a little thing"—an insect, for instance—may prove to be of inestimable value. And, since the effectiveness of power depends so much upon the relations between the shaman and the source, the same kind of power—from lightning,

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let us say—may be considered appreciably stronger when practiced by one person than when used by another.

The relation between the shaman and his power source.—The prayers, songs, and material elements of a ceremony are not in themselves effective, and the simulation of power is most hazardous:

> I might make headdresses the way my father does and imitate him, but I wouldn't have his ceremony. It wouldn't do me any good. I couldn't cure anybody with it, not even myself if I was dying.
>
> Power is dangerous if you try to use it and don't know how. Then you go crazy and jump into the fire or jump off a cliff or stab yourself or lose yourself so that you die wandering around the mountains.
>
> A certain man's wife was jealous because he danced with a girl at the social dances. She used a ceremony on him so that he would never dance with this girl again. But she had never learned this ceremony properly. It was her father's ceremony, and she imitated what she had heard, but she didn't know enough to do it right, and her husband went crazy.

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The ritual details are important not because they cure in themselves but because the power, as soon as a shaman begins his rite, is expected to recognize its own songs and prayers and to honor its pledges. Often, after the opening events of a ceremony, a shaman will pause for some word or sign and then reassuringly tell his audience, "My power hears me."

In order to maintain the good will of his power, the shaman must observe its rules. The person who fails to live up to his part of the power relationship agreement runs the risk of alienating the power and inviting retaliation.

> The old men told us that if the power likes you and wants you, when you take up the ceremony you learn it fast. If power doesn't want you, you'll never learn it. It is hard and there are often many rules. If you violate them, power gets after you. It's like taking an oath. You take an oath to the power, and then, if you break it, power gets after you and your family.
>
> If a shaman makes a mistake, it won't affect him or his family. But the power he represents gets after him and calls him down. "I never told you to do it that way!" it says. Then the power gives him another chance. If the shaman always makes mistakes, he may get sick and die, for the power gives him up. If you disobey your power, something will happen to you. It is dangerous. A man who does his ceremony wrong all the time might be killed when at war; his power might let this happen.

756 Power is bitterly resentful if its ceremony is conducted in a
778 slovenly or erroneous fashion, for this is evidence of little interest
787 and faith.

It must not be thought that a shaman is concerned with his power only at times of ritual or when he is in communication with his supernatural guardian. This relationship invades every realm of interest and activity. One man, who has a ceremony from Lightning, tends to interpret everything possible in terms of it. He even sees a lightning symbol in the zigzag lacing of the child's cradle, a point that no one else seems willing to concede. Elsewhere I have indicated how the nature of a man's ceremony and power source may even affect the manner in which he relates traditional legends.[8]

In the course of a rite a constant interchange between the
power and the shaman takes place. "A shaman with masked
[535] dancers does not paint them just the way he wants to. Every
time he wants to paint, a picture comes before his eyes and tells
him what to paint."

[533] The shaman is the custodian of the songs and ritual with
which he has been intrusted. It is his obligation to see that they
[424] are not inappropriately used. "If a man has a ceremonial song
and his power has told him to sing it a certain way, he doesn't
want anyone else to sing it, and he will tell him it's wrong if he
tries."

756 It not infrequently happens that the power and the shaman
778 discover that on some specific issue they have contrary aims or
787 interests:

> 782 The old people say that a shaman often falls out with his own power. Many
> stories have been told about that, all of them true. After many years, the power
> will ask some shamans to sacrifice some of their best friends or the very ones they
> love best in the family. That's what they say.
>
> 756 There was one man who was a war shaman. He was well protected by his
> 778 power. Once he had his own group of men ready to go into battle. Usually before
> 786 going into battle, he would sing for his men and pray for them so that nobody
> would get a wound. This time he was praying for his men who were going into
> 787 battle. All his warriors were sitting around him that night. He had never kept
> 782

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[8] "Three Types of Variation and Their Relation to Culture Change," in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, pp. 146–57.

anything about his ceremony secret from his warriors. He always told them, 756
"Go right in and fight. Nobody's going to get killed or shot. Go right in. That's 778
what my power says." 726

That night during his ceremony for the next day's battle his power told him, 787
"Tomorrow I'm going to take two of your very best men during the battle." It 782
called them by their names, the two best warriors.

So right there he told them, "You two men are to be killed tomorrow. That is what my power says." Then he kept on with his ceremony. He was angry with his power.

But his power said, "This must be done. I have helped you and have done everything you asked for up to this time. Now you must do what I tell you."

This man answered his power, talking so loud that everybody heard it. They say he waved his hand over his men to cover all of them. He said, "These men and their families, I love every one of them. I want to see them as long as I live. I will not let you have any of them. I will not agree with you. I must tell you that right now." He was very angry.

His power said, "It must be done." And he told it, "It's not going to be done!" He was fighting it.

The power told him again, "It must be done." And he said, "If you think it must be done, take me. Then you can do whatever you want after that. Take me first. If that's the kind of thing you want me to do, take your ceremony back right now. I don't want it. I want to do only good things with it. When I have to pay [you] men, I will not put up with it any longer."

I think this argument ended by the power's saying, "If you don't want anything to happen, don't go into that battle tomorrow." The power is strong in this story. That's the way the old people tell it.

Since the value of a ceremony depends so markedly upon the 756
intimate personal relations between the shaman and the super- 778
natural source, anything that interferes with the clarity of pur- 787
pose of the shaman gravely weakens the rite:

The only thing the old man told me was this: "The older you get, the weaker [886]
you become with your ceremony. Your mind is weak. Your praying is mixed up. You get the lines in the wrong order in the songs and prayers. Your voice is weak in praying. Your voice is feeble and you can't sing as you used to. You can't have a good vigorous talk with your power any more."

And because the efficacy of power is so completely linked with this mutual confidence, any rupture of this relationship may result in the withdrawal of supernatural support from the shaman:

Sometimes the power of the shaman just goes, all at once. E. is a member of the Central Chiricahua band. I knew him when I was a boy. I lived right in the same place. He is my cousin (our fathers were brothers, sons of the same

756 778 787 mother). E. lost his power over twenty years ago. Maybe he misused it. Maybe the power didn't want to use him any more. When they don't get any response from the power during prayer or the ceremony, they know the power has gone. If things are working well, a shaman will get a response to prayer; he will hear a voice. . . . . I know many people here who used to be shamans but are not now. If power begins to weaken, nothing can be done about it; it just goes and can't be kept strong.

Another informant, however, felt that waning power might be restored to the shaman:

[788] Any shaman, even if he has had strong power that spoke to him, may feel that it has deserted him. Then he goes out to a lonely place and calls on his power. He puts pollen on his forehead and chest and prays. He never tells what he says to his power, but it may come back to him then.

756 778 424 796 *The transmission of ceremony.*—It is also possible to gain supernatural power and a ceremony by learning it from another. How can the transfer of power be reconciled with the emphasis laid on the close association of the shaman with the power that has spoken to him? No inconsistency is involved; these two basic methods of acquiring ceremonies have been skilfully blended in theory and practice. To the question, "Could a man go to one who had power and learn his power from him?" an elderly informant replied:

That is hard. Wind said to lightning, "See that mountain over there. If I want, I can split it in two pieces." Lightning answered him, "I also can split that mountain in two pieces." They both had power to do the same thing, but the power of the wind is not the power of the lightning. Neither is one man's power the power of another man.

Still, if you go to an old man and this old man teaches you the observances over and over, and if the man's supernatural power is pleased with you, you can obtain the power that the old man has. But if the source of the old man's power does not want you, nothing you can do will help. The old man goes out alone and asks his power, and, if it is pleased, pollen is put in your mouth. Then, no matter how many songs there are, you learn them all without difficulty.

He [the shaman] does not lose power by sharing it. But he usually does not share it until he is too old to practice much longer or is going to quit.

The same subject is treated in another statement:

Many of the ceremonies are passed along. They go from father to son and from one relative to another, although they can go to those who aren't relatives too. About half the ceremonies in use are got in this way. But even if a person wants to learn the power and the shaman is willing to teach him, often he cannot

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power. 756 778 424 796

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us. [788]

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power." [465] [262] [784]

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said: 756 778 554

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

> 756 778 [554] I never knew how many things my father did know. He said to me once, "I can't tell you. I'd like you to know it all, but some things I cannot tell. I could take you where I went in the cave, but you might not 'make' it." And he laughed.

The possibility of multiple powers leads to interesting ramifications. One shaman, after some reverses, may decide that two of his powers are hostile toward each other, and he may feel obliged to discontinue the use of one of them. Another may be assured that his power source and another "work well together" and so may attempt to secure a complementary rite. One informant felt, for instance, that "Wind and Thunder go together," and he organized his own ritual life in terms of this precept.

756 778 156 Personality differences and differences in interest are sharply evident. "Often men have more than one power. Some fellows have many; some just don't care about it at all. Several men may know the same thing, and one may know several things." Very nearly all adults are eager for supernatural guidance, but many see in their power merely a personal monitor or carry on ceremonies for the benefit of their immediate families only.

Some are suspected of having this power or that but refuse to give any satisfaction to their questioners. The power itself may have forbidden revelation of the connection or may have advised that the knowledge be withheld for a certain time. Consequently, curiosity about undeclared power is always rife. A newly worn feather or amulet arouses all kinds of speculation. A favorite device, when a person is suspected of ceremonial knowledge which he has not divulged, is to discuss the matter with him when his inhibitions are at low ebb. In a case of this kind "the man gave away the fact of his power while he was drunk, and the other got him to perform the ceremony for him."

756 [124] Sometimes, to help a friend or a relative, a person who thinks his rite might prove effective reluctantly "gives himself up." One man performed a snake ceremony before a selected group but asked them to say nothing about it. When I interviewed him, he pleaded profound ignorance of the snake rite. Since I could not very well confess that he had been betrayed to me, there was no way to elicit the desired data.

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Theoretically, no shaman is obliged to accept a call for assistance that he does not wish to honor. In practice, however, it is very difficult to turn away the sick person or his relatives, particularly if the request is attended by a prescribed ceremonial gesture, is expressed in language of great humility, or if relationship terms are employed in the asking. 756 755

An individual who shows initial reluctance to demonstrate his ceremonial knowledge may achieve signal success as a result of his first public venture. He is then likely to lose his shyness and to accept cases at frequent intervals. There are others who are more than willing to earn the rewards that come to a successful practitioner. They wear conspicuously amulets suggestive of their power and are ready to tell about their vision experiences and their ceremonial triumphs. They accept any reasonable case and make of their rituals a dramatic display. [554]

The functions of supernatural power.—Besides its general function as a guardian spirit, the most frequent use of supernatural power is in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. There is no separate class of diagnosticians or shamans who consult their power solely to learn the cause of illness and the identity of another practitioner to cope with it. But sometimes "a shaman can tell you beforehand whether he can do you any good." If there is doubt concerning the cause of the sickness and the pertinence of a particular ceremony, a pragmatic attitude is assumed:

> Both R. and A. sang for me. They kept singing because they did not know what I got sick from. If what they know is the right thing, it cures it. R. sang lightning songs, for he knows that too. He sang for nine days. It usually lasts four days, but if you don't know what a man is sick from, you keep on until you find out sometimes.

During the curative rite, when the shaman is receiving instruction from his power source concerning the best method to combat the sickness, he often obtains additional information. Some of it is of a prophetic nature, picturing the future state and fortunes of his patient. This is considered cogent material to introduce, especially if it suggests that the sick person will recover. Sometimes the predictions shed light on the affairs of some of the onlookers too. This acts as testimony to the effectiveness of the 756 755 787

756 755 [787] power and to the close understanding the shaman has with it. Such prophecy has its therapeutic function, too, for the religious zeal of all present is important in the successful outcome of any rite.

756 778 82 Supernatural experiences often bring to those who undergo them special abilities and techniques which may be used quite apart from any rite. It is not unusual to hear that a person possesses great bodily strength because his ceremony comes from Bear, that one who "knows" Bat is an excellent horseman, or that a man's speed and endurance date from his acquisition of power from Goose. It is often claimed that one who knows sun and moon power is able to look down upon distant events. Of a certain man, it was said: "When he went a long distance, he sang a song. In it were the words 'Near, near.' Then he got there sooner. He had songs for going a long distance and a short distance." [533]

756 778 Another office of supernatural power is to bring success—success in war and raid, in hunting, in love, in games, and in many of life's endeavors. The degree to which it has guided his efforts to acquire stock and to deal with the enemy was related by one man:

> Power told me that I was to get something if I went out on the raid. If I go out and look for something, my power gives me the ability to get horses and mules. The power sends me out and tells me, "You are going to get this."
>
> My power told me that the enemy was coming. It told me, "If you want the enemy to see you, they are going to see you. If you want to see the enemy, you will see them. If you don't want to meet the enemy, they will swing around the other way."

756 778 789 787 The location of lost persons and lost or hidden objects is an important service performed by supernatural power. Usually power guides the shaman's hand in the direction of the object or person to be discovered. The ceremonial procedure, designated "it moves the arms about," is employed also in locating a foe. Usually the shaman stands, praying and singing, with arms extended, while the supernatural power moves him in the fateful direction. In ceremonies to find missing persons shamans use articles of clothing belonging to the one sought. Songs, prayers, or ritual acts carried on over the garments exert a controlling influence on the lost individual.

There are other ceremonial means of finding the enemy:

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A shaman who got his power from a star could locate the enemy by making a cross of ashes on his left hand and holding it up to the star, the morning star. This was much used in war. Sometimes the cross was traced in pollen, or abalone shell was held aloft in the hand. Then a flash of lightning in the direction of the enemy appeared. 756 778 789 [787]

Fugitives can be found and halted by ceremonial methods too:

A young man killed his wife and ran away. Her relatives were looking for him. Finally they found his track. They brought a ceremonial man to it. "I'll make him come back," he said. He knelt down, put pollen on the man's track, and prayed and sang. Then he put his hand in the track and turned it. "He can't get away. He will be back," he said. In two days this boy came to his stepfather's camp. They were waiting for him and caught him.

Of great consequence is the function of power in weakening the enemy and in providing invulnerability from attack: 756 778 789 726

One time they all saw the enemy coming, and the enemy saw them. The shaman said to the people, "I am going to make them disappear, and we shall disappear from their view also." Then he told the people to go behind a hill so they couldn't see the enemy. He alone stood on top of the hill.

After about twenty minutes the shaman told them all to come up again. When they came up, there were only cattle grazing around where the enemy had been. The shaman told the men to herd the cattle, drive them to the river, and shoot them and eat them there.

When it became apparent that the Mexicans and Americans were menacing invaders, the ceremonies to influence the enemy were extended to cope with them: 756 778 789 648

C. was going into Chihuahua. He wanted to go to a certain Mexican town. He knew the ceremony of Cloud and started to perform it. Cloud told him not to use it but to use the ceremony to influence the enemy which he also knew. So he did. Then he went right into the town.

The mayor was surprised to see him come. "Aren't you afraid? Don't you know we kill all of you Indians?" he asked C. "I'm not afraid. What should I be afraid of? I have done nothing against you," C. replied. And no harm came to him.

. . . . K. got into some trouble. He had to run away to Oklahoma. He came back afraid, for the agent had said he would fix him when he got hold of him. So he hired a woman to pray for him and influence the white man.

She walked up the road behind him praying. Then she said, "All right, go ahead and see the agent." Then she turned off the road. K. went right on to the office. The agent did not seem angry with him. In fact, he was glad to see him. It surely does influence them!

756 778 Supernatural power further protects the warrior against his enemies by making him invulnerable to their arrows and bullets.

789 [726] The control of weather and natural events are other objectives of ceremonialists:

> 756 778 789 821 There is a ceremony to bring rain when it is very dry. Then we get rain by calling on White Painted Woman and Child of the Water. The world is White Painted Woman. The thunder is Child of the Water. Sand, a whitish sand from Old Mexico, is used in this ceremony to call the rain. It is blown to the four directions. Also Lightning is called on when the sand is blown, and a blowing noise, "Hoo, hoo!" is made. In the prayer there is mention of the number of days it should rain.
>
> I have a ceremony which, if carried out on the desert, would cause a sandstorm. But this would be uncomfortable for the people, and so I dislike to do it. It is a prayer. I used it when men were going to make a raid for horses so that they could get away without being detected. I throw sand into the air, blow against it four times, say the prayer, and it causes sand to blow around so thick that you can't see.

The length of day or night can also be controlled through power:

> [726] When he was on the warpath, Geronimo fixed it so that morning wouldn't come too soon. He did it by singing. Once we were going to a certain place, and Geronimo didn't want it to become light before he reached it. He saw the enemy while they were in a level place, and he didn't want them to spy on us. He wanted morning to break after we had climbed over a mountain, so that the enemy couldn't see us. So Geronimo sang, and the night remained for two or three hours longer. I saw this myself.

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MEDICAL PRACTICES

[755] *The nonritual treatment of ailments.*—Though it is true that most of the ceremonies deal with ill-health, it does not necessarily follow that all sickness must be treated ceremonially. An individual may become sick through surfeit or through want; he may weaken himself by overexertion; he may suffer injury because of carelessness or needless daring. [886] Advancing years bring their infirmities; old age "can kill you." [164] "There are several ailments you can get by not taking care of yourself, by foolishness—such things as tuberculosis and venereal diseases." Of course, in any particular case, the reasoning may be reversed, and a malevolent person or force may be blamed finally for the trouble.

"Throw it away! It will make you sick!" A similar attitude is 825
reflected in this statement: 753

> When you are sick the shaman may tell you that you have slept on an eagle feather or something like that which has made you ill. You could get sick from the eagle. And there were people [shamans] who knew about that.
>
> Lots of people even felt that it was a bad sign to have an eagle fly around the camps in the old days. When birds are supposed to be wild and to live out in the mountains, they shouldn't come around where people live. It looked to the Chiricahua as if they were being sent when they did come, as if they were a bad sign.

But there are also those who express no fear of the eagle. 825
"Eagle feathers are thought to give a person strength. The eagle
is not regarded like a coyote [i.e., inherently evil]." Moreover, [223]
eagles are trapped and killed for their feathers, and eaglets are [237]
occasionally reared in cages until they can be plucked. [231]

In general an unfavorable overtone and some fear mark comments about the buzzard:

> Some are afraid of the buzzard. I remember that, when I'd go to pick up a buzzard feather, my father would call out, "Drop that feather!" Most Chiricahua do not think much about buzzards until they have a ceremony performed over them and a shaman gives them some directions about it, such as not to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or something like that. But these restrictions are not true for every Chiricahua; they are not general.

Another bird that is viewed with circumspection is the parrot:

> The Chiricahua were not very familiar with parrots. Once in a while they saw them in Mexico. Only a few people have seen the parrot. They know it mocks you, and they don't like to be around it. They are afraid of it. They say, "Why is it that a bird imitates people? There must be something to it." I have heard people say, "If a bird talks, there must be a witch in him."

Horse, mule, spider, Thunder People, Mountain People.—There 825
are a few creatures and supernaturals which are to be feared only 753
if they are somehow offended. The horse and the mule, the [776]
spider, the Thunder People, and the Mountain People comprise
this list. Of the first two, it is said:

> If you mistreat a horse, if you hit it on the head repeatedly, it may take re-
> venge on you. It will cause you to get sick. Then you must go to a shaman who [755]
> specializes in the ceremony of the horse. The mule is bad if you mistreat it; it will [756]
> cause you to be sick too. The man who knows the horse cures both kinds of sickness.

SORCERY AND INCEST

754 *The duality of power.*—If an illness is long continued, the explanation that it has been caused by a certain animal or force may not satisfy the patient, his relatives, or the shaman. The symptoms, for instance, may point to bear sickness, but then the question will arise: Why did the encounter with the bear occur? Time after time the answer is sought in the machinations of a malevolent human agent. "A witch may cause it. A witch may cause any animal to attack you or make you sick." Whatever befalls a person, and even what he is forced to do, may be interpreted as the work of witches. One commentator defined sorcery as "making an individual do something evil by the power of some animal or spirit." There is little sickness which cannot be attributed ultimately to sorcery.

> A witch can cause evil influence through the bear, the snake, or through almost anything.

> The way they tell it, some know Sun. One who does might sing and say, "Sun, get that man sick," and it obeys him. He is a witch. Then someone else with stronger power and good power sees it and tells you that someone got you sick from Sun.

From such statements we infer that a good many individuals are suspected of using for evil those same sources of supernatural power and the same intimate relations with their monitors that others manipulate for legitimate purposes. "All disease can be caused by the supernatural power of witches. Both men and women are witches. Witches get power in the same way as shamans. They are people who have power which can be used for good or evil but is used for evil."

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756 The dual nature of supernatural power leads to a widespread suspicion of religious practitioners: "There are lots of ways to know a witch from a shaman, though most people who have much power will have both kinds." Often there is great indecision in the public mind over the place of a given shaman in relation to these polarities:

> The truth is that a person is a shaman if he uses his power for good, and a witch if he uses it for evil. A person will never admit using it for evil. You have to guess by what happens; you have to use your own judgment. Therefore, there

are a good many people who look at the same person differently. Some people 754
have told me that S. is a witch. Others think he is all right. Some tell me that B. 756
is a witch, in fact, quite a few think so. Others consider him a shaman. On the other hand, J. and R. have power, yet I have never heard of anyone suspecting them of being witches.

Since a person can use power for good and evil and it depends on the individual, a man could be a shaman at one time and a witch at another. Sorcery is power used for evil; benevolent power is used for good. It may be the same kind of power. A witch can use pollen and do the same things that the shaman does. He does not have to arouse suspicion. There are many ways of working sorcery.

Yet there are often signs of witchcraft, things that would not be used by a shaman, such as . . . . hair or a piece of a man's clothing. If I saw these, I would know right away that it was witchcraft. Witches usually have bones of animals or something like that with which to work.

Great secrecy surrounds the use of ceremonies for evil ends, but a shaman whose power is beneficent may be able to detect witchcraft:

That witch business is always carried on in secret. It's such a thing that a person doesn't come out and tell about it. He wants to carry on his ceremonies in such a way that no one will catch on to it. It's usually found out when a shaman sings and performs a ceremony over one who is sick. He tells you then that such and such a person is performing a ceremony that makes you sick.

So firmly fixed is this idea of the duality of power that sorcery is described as being obtained and perpetuated by the same procedures as have been noted for beneficial power:

A witch learns his work in just the same ways a shaman does; he may learn it from a man who had it, or he may be told how by his power.

Witchcraft is often handed down to close relatives whose nature is that way. [424]
Whole families are sometimes suspected of witchcraft. The witch's secrets may be handed down, like the shaman's.

Of a man who claimed to have refused an offer of evil power, it was said, "That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say that he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch."

The motives, scope of activity, and methods of the sorcerer.—In 754
some cases it is not considered necessary to seek for causes of sorcery beyond the basic misanthropic nature of the witch. "These people don't want to see anyone happy; they don't want to see people laugh; they like it when there are many deaths."

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going to end. He had the masked dancers perform right up there by his camp in 75
the afternoon. They had a big fire going in the middle of an open space. While 535
my father was singing and the masked dancers were working, their leader got a message. He found out that it is something that has settled here. He found out it is because the people don't get together, because they talk and work against one another [witchcraft] that the disease has settled among us. My father told the people that, when they act right toward one another and are no longer like this, the disease will all go away.

Many techniques, some of them subtle and surreptitious, are known to the sorcerer: 754

The way a witch influences you may start with little things. He may merely cause you to prick your finger, and all your trouble starts from that, or he may give you a stomach ache which continually grows worse. A witch has the power of evil influence with all his body parts, even with his sexual organ or his anal flatulence. He uses these as "arrows" to shoot the one he is getting sick. The women who are witching you with venereal disease, if they see you from a distance, open their vaginas toward you and go clockwise in a circle saying what should happen to you.

Sometimes witching is done with hair or with a rib and hair done up in buckskin. That is their arrow. It is a human rib and human hair that they use. They shoot these objects into the body of the one they are making sick. They usually have four such objects. A witch often works with the remains of dead people. One falls under suspicion of being a witch if he hangs around a grave. Few shamans try to take objects out of a sick person's body which have been placed there through evil influence. It is dangerous and most shamans are afraid. [756] ●

Sometimes the glance, the thought, or the speech of a witch will cause evil influence. And a witch can often work through having some body part of the man whom he wants to harm, such as hair or nail parings.

A witch may have made his ceremony and said his words beforehand. Then he comes over to you and brushes against you, pushes you, plays with you, or steps on you—making believe all the while it is an accident or in fun. Thus he uses evil influence on you. A witch may even make marks on the ground and work with them.

An object of witchcraft is described in a tale of a witch brought to bay:

At Fort Sill a person once came out of his house and lost his purse. Somebody found it, and inside was his object of witchcraft. The name of the loser was D., and the finder was K., both well-known people. K. thought he had found money and opened the purse. To his surpise he found this object. It was a bone, two inches long, scraped fine, pointed on one end, and with a notch at the other, like an arrow. At the notch there was green coloring. On the side was a peculiar design.

A witch can be told by his language. If he makes a threat against another and 754
it comes true, he may be suspected of being a witch. People who steal or habit- 156
ually do mean things are witches. 157

Or his habits may be strange and may put him under suspicion. If you see a man on a high hill going through a strange ceremony, you can be sure he is a witch. A shaman would not go way out in the mountains and dance naked, as I [756]
have heard has been done. A shaman would perform his ceremony in the open and at home. Witches always go far out and do strange things.

There are people who are queer. They are seen doing things that are not right in this life, as if I should get out here and pray to the sun when I shouldn't. It would look bad. Or if a man is seen carrying bones of animals and trying to hide them; it is things like that which cause a person to be suspected of being a witch.

Not long ago my wife got up very early to make a fire. It was before anyone else was up. There, by the little road which runs past our camp, she saw a man waving a handkerchief to the four directions. This was after this man's wife died. My wife asked me what I thought of this. I said I thought it was sorcery. It was a queer thing for a man to do.

Even if you are not a witch but do something peculiar, you will fall under suspicion. For instance, one day I was whistling and doing some steps of the masked dancer just for the amusement of my wife and child. My wife said, "You had better stop. Someone may see you and think you are a witch." I was not dressed properly for the dance, and there was no music. It would have looked bad if someone had seen me. The Chiricahua has to be very careful. When a person is accused of being a witch, there is always some reason for it in his actions.

. . . . In one case I heard of, a woman who took all her clothes off somewhere around here and ran up a hill with her buttocks toward the camps was known as a witch. Once a man was seen entirely naked handling his sexual organ and saying some prayer. This is peculiar, and the man fell under suspicion. He was suspected of going through a ceremony to give someone venereal disease.

The possession of unusual amulets may also give rise to gos- 754
sip: [301]

They may have some beads or an arrowhead or something hidden under their clothes. Sometimes someone sees this. Then people are suspicious. Some may wear a little buckskin around the wrist or perhaps some little bones, or something like that, or maybe they have some hair. Some wear what they use openly and don't care if they are called witches.

The manner of dress may reveal the witch. "We were warned [291]
when I was a boy that witches never wear good clothes. That's

To this point the assumption has been that sickness is due to contact with something inherently injurious or to the plottings of the witch. But the last quotation suggests that power, too, may have demands of its own and is capable of vengeance. Power is not always a neutral, not always a force ready to act at the bidding of the shaman or the witch. It may aid the shaman, but only as long as it sees fit to do so, and at a price. It may sponsor the witch, but only to ruin him finally. The duality of power, then, must be read to mean not only that power can be used for good or for evil but that power itself may be good or evil. 754 756 778 [753]

Sometimes the evil intentions of power are discernible at first contact. "One can take or leave power. It is dangerous to take sometimes. Sometimes the ceremony that is offered requires some things that are not right. That is why some people refuse it." But power may even deceive the individual who aspires to enjoy its benefits. Many a practitioner has assumed that his power "is for good only" later to face a sad awakening.

> He had some pretty songs! I sure liked them. But he told me over here one time, "Never sing them. They are witch songs, my friend. I never knew it for a long time, but I have found out since what they are." . . . . He doesn't sing them now. His power has run out. [533]

Power which has seemed to be beneficent may finally demand that the shaman sacrifice a life to it.[18] 756 782 778

> A shaman may succeed for eight or ten times, and then he has to pay for his success. The power, after working for him for a number of times calls on him for a sacrifice, saying, "I have let you work this ceremony so many times; now I want so many men." Then the shaman must pay with men. He is notified through a vision or dream. In the old days they sacrificed the best men in the tribe this way. They did it in battle. They sacrificed the ones in the front of the fight.
>
> Sometimes a good man, when called on to do that, will say to his power, "You should have told me about this in the first place, and I wouldn't have taken the ceremony. This will make no better than a witch out of me. I refuse. You may do what you want." Often they lose their lives that way. Sometimes the power calls on them to sacrifice their own relatives, and they do. Sometimes they refuse. Many times relatives are afraid of a very successful shaman.

[18] In this connection the story of the shaman asked to sacrifice two warriors, introduced on p. 208 to illustrate a different point, will be recalled.

756 778 782 The last sentences are of particular importance, for they call attention once more to the special peril in which the relatives of a sorcerer are placed:

> There is often a big penalty for being a very successful shaman. A shaman might do a lot of good, then the power demands that the life of a relative be sacrificed. If he does not agree, he pays with his own life; a trifling accident will cause his death. He allows the power to take his son, his daughter, his wife, or any other close relative. It causes them to get sick; it appears to be natural when they die. The power causes the sickness, and he permits it. The relatives of such shamans are afraid of them. The relative cannot defend himself. The matter is not made public. The shaman, when his time comes to die, can substitute a relative for himself. I have heard very often of shamans substituting a relative when their own time came to die.
>
> I hear lots of talk about the fact that if a shaman has done a great deal of good, when the time comes for him to die, his power speaks and tells him to substitute a relative in his place. One old man told me that a relative approached him and wanted him to take a ceremony. He said to this relative, "Get out of here with your power! You will probably substitute me, and if you don't I don't want to have to substitute someone else." When you go to a man with much power and question him directly, however, he evades you. He says, "Well, if the power comes from some evil source, a person might do this." He never admits that he does it.

[522] This fear of the power of a relative provides a source of wry humor:

> I used to tease my uncle a lot. You know the Chiricahua think that, when a shaman's time has come to die, he pays out one of his relatives instead. He substitutes someone. It has to be a relative. I used to say to my uncle, "When your time comes, don't pick on me; let me die a natural death." That sounds very funny when you say it in our language. When I'd say this, he would just laugh.

756 782 778 593 But the subject is not always treated in such a genial manner. In the following instance traditional uneasiness is aggravated by a quarrel between father and son over the transfer of the older man's ceremony.

> Close relatives of shamans become frightened sometimes because they are afraid the power may claim them. There is my father: I don't know what he knows. I'm afraid of him. He might witch me or harm me. The same with E.—I don't want to be around him. I don't want to be in sight of either of them. I don't want to be bothered.
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> Sometimes the man will let the power have its way. He will sacrifice one of

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his own relatives. Of course he's a witch then. After that he might mix bad and good. He might cure in a good way, but when the power demands a relative, he has to sacrifice one to protect himself.

You take my father: he must have had plenty of power in J.'s day. J. has told me how powerful he was with his ceremony. He was able to cure when he was younger. What he said always came true.

As a rule, after a while you can do bad things to your fellow-men among your own tribe more easily than you can do good things. I almost think it's easy for the old man to do those bad things, for they are easily done. In J.'s time the old man was doing good with his ceremony. But today he's a dangerous man to me. For the last several years I can't say he has done any good for anyone with his ceremony. Most of the people here call him and E. both witches today. E. has been standing by him because he is studying the old man's ceremony. Everybody knows it. The older people living here today say that, if you trace it down, there is no relationship whatever between the old man and E. But E. calls him brother. They have no proof that they are relatives.

THE GENERALIZED CURING RITE

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Because of such factors as the diversity of the sources of power and the varying degrees of intimacy between the shaman and the supernatural force, no two ceremonies are exactly alike; yet all the rites conform to a general pattern.

Since many of the diseases are marked by well-defined symptoms, the sufferer is able to hazard a likely guess as to the cause of his illness and to seek a shaman equipped to cope with it:

A person makes his own choice. If he is pretty sure of what ails him, he takes his chance and goes to a shaman for a cure. A person has to use his own judgment. If he thinks it is a bear that made him sick, he goes to a shaman who knows power through the bear. The shaman will tell him whether this is the trouble or not soon enough.

Though there is a tendency to expect a rite from a particular source to cure sickness contracted through that same source, strong power usually can bring some relief to any malady. Therefore, the ailing person is as often concerned over the ability of the shaman as he is over the power source involved.

A sick man uses his judgment and goes to a shaman he thinks has most power. You can go to a shaman, and he can tell you beforehand if he can do you any good. Almost any good shaman can at least tell you what is causing the evil influence, though he might have to send you to someone who can help you.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

756 The quest for a suitable shaman is sometimes a long one:

755 When you are sick, you tell the shaman what is the matter with you; you tell him your symptoms. If the shaman doesn't do you any good, you change to another. D. has been having a number of shamans sing for him.

The request for ceremonial aid is a delicate matter. Some shamans may be contacted for this purpose only during the daytime. If the sick person is able to do so, he is the one who visits the shaman; if not, a relative acts for him.

When C. came over he said, "Help me with whatever you know. I have tried others, but it seems as though I got no help out of it. Now I have come here to see you. I think there is hope, and today I want you to lift up my boy who is sick." . . . . C. called me brother. Just because C. was asking for help he called me brother.

551 Since the personal name is reserved for appeal and emergency,
755 the need of the supplicant may be emphasized by its use:

756 If a person is very sick and is sent to a shaman, but is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he calls him by his name. I call this "to plead in the Chiricahua way." To do it you call the name of the person and then add, "I ask you to do this which I am to say." Then you tell what you want. This is a way of asking for help, particularly ceremonial help, but it is also used in cases of grave emergency or death too. It is always said with the name and shows that the person speaking relies on the person spoken to. It puts the person spoken to under an obligation. He can hardly refuse and not feel ashamed afterward.

The names of other members of the shaman's family may be mentioned also:

If a shaman is addressed by his name, he will be more likely to perform the needed ceremony. So that he can't refuse, you can say, "So-and-so, in the name of all your children, your wife, your whole family, I ask you to help me now." You can mention them by name. He can hardly refuse you after that.

755 Then, to show respect and faith, the suppliant "marks" the
756 shaman "in the right way" with pollen. The usual manner is to
[788] trace a cross on the shaman's right foot, sprinkle pollen on other
parts of his body, and finally draw a cross on his left foot. Often
[431] a ceremonial gift is placed on the shaman's foot at this time too,
and the shaman picks it up to indicate that he will accept the
case; or a cigarette may be placed on his foot, and he smokes it
to express consent.

Before the ceremony can begin, and usually at the time of the request, ceremonial gifts are tendered the shaman. These are gifts to the power to assure its co-operation. 756 755 782 431

> The shamans for different diseases get different presents first. Even today these can't be money. These are not given to the shaman. They are part of the ceremony. They must be given to complete the ceremony. For a ghost-sickness ceremony today one man wants a black-handled knife, a black silk handkerchief, a bag of smoking tobacco, and a wooden cross. After this and on top of this a further present might be given to the shaman, but these have to be given. . . . . His power always needs special things for a shaman to cure with, and you must have these ready.

These offerings are almost always four in number and are generally of such a nature that they can be directly employed at some stage in the rite. Among those which commonly appear are turquoise, abalone shell, eagle feathers, pollen, specular iron ore, unblemished buckskin, black flint blades, white shell, and obsidian. What is called for may vary according to the patient's sex. An unblemished deerskin, for instance, must come from a doe if the patient is a woman, from a buck if it is a man, and the head must be left attached with a piece of abalone or turquoise (again depending on the sex of the patient) tied between the ears. If possible, the gifts are logically associated with the kind of ceremony which the shaman controls. 756 431 782 [232]

> I had a man who specializes on mules and horses castrate my mules. The old man made a ceremony of it. . . . . He said, "Give me a saddle blanket, a bridle, a little rope, and something else that is used for a horse. It doesn't have to be new. Give me something you don't want. I don't care how much it has been used. Just give me these to carry out the ceremony. Never mind other payment." He told me he usually gets paid besides, but he always gets these things to complete the ceremony. He made it pretty plain that his power wanted things that had already been in use on a horse.

For a certain rite of a shaman the ceremonial gifts are always the same, and, if the practitioner is well known, the requirements are public knowledge. In order to learn about the "way" of a lesser ritual figure, it may be necessary to make some inquiries. A visit to a relative of the shaman may prove useful, for example. 756

Once the shaman has agreed to perform his rite, he takes full 755

756 command and announces where and when the ceremony is to
755 take place. He is free to enlist the help of the sufferer's relatives and he may direct them to build a special shelter with the door facing the east or to gather paraphernalia and plants.

[784] Many shamans, as a part of the ceremony, impose restrictions upon those who wish to watch the proceedings:

> Some shamans don't allow barefooted people around when they are working, but not all are like this. Some don't allow you to scratch if you want to stay, but not all are like this either. Some tell you that you can't sleep while the ceremony is in progress. When we came to Geronimo's ceremonies he would warn us not to scratch or we would get a choking sensation then and there.

It is usually the close relatives, affinities, and good friends of the patient who are present. If the shaman is known for his dramatic performance, persons particularly attracted to religious spectacles also seek entrance. The shaman decides who may attend. Often fear of impiety or of witchcraft is a selective factor.

The ceremony ordinarily lasts four days, and the events open to the public take place on four consecutive nights, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. These are not inflexible rules, however. Food—often an abundant feast—is provided
[574] by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance.

756 Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in
825 his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association
821 with the power source.

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> Usually, when a person gets power through some animal, he has four tokens of the animal with which he works—perhaps the hide, claws, tail, and paw. If his power is from lightning, lightning-struck twigs may be there. If the power comes from a bird, perhaps the tail feathers of that bird will have a place in the ceremony.

755 There are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost
756 every ceremony:

> A shaman has pollen, paints, herbs, and a drum. Eagle feathers are usually used. Some wear a cap or a vest of buckskin when they sing. Some have a tray basket at their ceremonies with pollen, paint, and eagle feathers in it.

[824] Pollen, the symbol of life and renewal, is omnipresent on ritual
[778] occasions. Tule pollen is used most, but the power may request

the substitution of pollen from piñon, oak, pine, sunflower, or, in later days, corn. 755 756 [824] [778]

Besides the substances and objects already mentioned as ceremonial gifts to the shaman, many others, supplied by the shaman himself, may be used in the rite. Some of these are: white clay, red ocher, coral, rock crystal, opal, jaspar, gypsum, snakeweed, grama grass, the bezoar, the enema tube, and a decorated "age staff" upon which the shaman leans during his songs.

After all have come together, the shaman rolls a cigarette and blows smoke to the four directions: [276] [823] [788]

> He smokes ceremonially, sends the smoke up. First he puffs to the four directions. As he blows smoke to each direction he says, "May it be well." He might say as he smokes, "There are good and evil on this earth. We live in the midst of it. Let all be living in peace. I want nothing to harm us. We only want food and other good things."

An impromptu prayer calling upon the power source for aid is likely to follow the ceremonial cigarette: [782]

> This woman is in poor health. I want her to live. She has been searching for something good. This evening I hope that what is wrong with her life will disappear and that she will have a good life. Now I am going to tell you something. You must do right now what you promised me to do. Your power must go into the life of this poor woman.

At this juncture, that the patient by his belief and the audience by their "good thoughts" may please the power source and insure its co-operation, the shaman may describe the acquisition of his ceremony and its virtues. Another gesture implying faith 755 is the reciprocal marking of the shaman and the patient with a 756 sacred substance. Pollen is most often so used, but specular iron 788 ore, red ocher, or white clay may be substituted. "Every shaman is known by his individual way of using pollen. Some put it to the four directions and up and down, some around the back of the neck and on the shoulders of the patient. Each man keeps his own way." The shaman may even mark everyone present in like manner, drawing the entire gathering into a spiritual brotherhood. The pollen, like all ceremonial objects or substances employed in the ritual, is held first to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east, and then moved in a sunwise circuit. [823]

756 Some shamans next seek to learn whether they will be able to
755 relieve the patient. One ceremonialist has, in recent times, looked at the sick person through a black silk handkerchief to determine this. Another draws the moon or a star with pollen on the palm of his right hand, and figures appear for him which permit him to prophesy concerning the outcome.

[533] To determine the cause of the ailment and to learn what he
[782] must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he
[776] attracts the attention of the guardian spirit with whom the songs
and prayers originated. He may sing without musical accom-
756 paniment, or he may beat time with a curved drumstick on the
755 pottery drum that has been thus described:
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> [533] Women make the pot. Men fix it to sing with and make the drumstick. The
> drum is a piece of buckskin stretched over a clay pot. Water and four pieces of
> [462] charcoal, each the size of the end of my thumb, are put in. The charcoal is required for a ceremony. It makes the sound good too. The water is to keep the buckskin damp. The buckskin is wet and stretched over the mouth of the pot. It takes several men [to fix the buckskin in place]. It is sounded until it is right and then tied. Then four little holes are made in the buckskin. If this is not done, it will not be much of a drum. It helps the sound and is of ceremonial importance
> [824] too. The drumstick is made of any kind of green wood that can be bent. Oak is sometimes used for it.

Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle of some kind. Rattles of eagle claws and mountain-goat hooves have been mentioned for shamanistic rites. Occasionally, the shaman has an assistant who drums for him and aids him throughout the rite.

756 The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony.
755 The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the
[533] need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided
[782] into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations of color and direction. The traditional color-directional as-
[822] sociation which is found in the mythology is black for the east,
[823] blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north.
Shamans take repeated liberties with this scheme, but for any one rite internal consistency is maintained. It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or

fourth song, that the shaman ordinarily receives the message he awaits. 756 755

He may hear a voice, see a vision, or receive information in some other way. The sign is often for him alone; those around him know what is happening only when he interrupts his ritual after a visitation and addresses his power. Power may simply assure the shaman that the disease has been correctly diagnosed and that he need only complete the rite in its briefest form. For more serious illnesses, it may advise tests to determine whether the patient will recover, or it may suggest a plant remedy and give instructions for its administering. [278]

Often medicinal herbs play a large part in the curing: [278]

> P. performed cures too. In his ceremony he would ask for it, the thing that would cure the sick person. You'd hear it on the roof. Then it was before you, a plant. He wouldn't take it up at once. He'd sing over it and talk to it first. When P. asked for it, it would come right through the crowd and land on the buckskin before him.

To produce some ritual object, to extract the "witch," or to demonstrate the potency of his supernatural source, the shaman may employ legerdemain: 755 756 789

> Something I saw him do is more than anything I ever saw others do. As nearly as I remember, it was about 1888 when I saw B. go through his ceremony in Alabama. Word was sent out to meet in one place where B. was going to sing. A good many met there. It was a very pretty night, moonlight; everything was still. He called them all around. He spread a clean white sheet right out there. They lit some lanterns so you could plainly see any little bugs that walked on that sheet. He sat right there. He put a basket there. People crowded around watching him. I sat very close; I was pretty religious in those days. When something like this was going on, I'd be over there first.
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> Before he started he said, "Some of you people never believe anything. You people who want power, watch this." He took his shirt off and was naked from the waist up. He took a piece of turquoise about as large as your thumb and as green as could be. He said, "If any of you people can do what I'm going to do, I'll believe in you. I can do it. This is solid turquoise. Look at it."
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> So they passed it around. They handed it back to him. He held it out. While everybody was looking he put it in the center of the sheet, far from him. He knelt down on both knees. Everybody was watching closely.
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> He said, "You people don't believe in anything. There's a turquoise here. I'm going to pray first. As soon as I stop praying I'm going to start to sing. During the singing watch that turquoise closely."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

> 755 He knelt down with arms outstretched. He prayed in a low tone. I couldn't hear all of it. He prayed to Yusn, Child of the Water, Cloud, and other things. 756 He prayed for a long time.
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> 789 Then he told us, "Watch that turquoise. It is going to be here in the center of my breast." And he held his arms outstretched with his hands open and began to sing. . . . . Between songs he told us to pray for our own good.
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> While he was singing, that turquoise disappeared. Everybody watched, and there it was right on his breast. And it started moving just like a little bug, going to his right arm, then moving up his arm, around his back to his other arm, and then back across the left arm to his chest. It was just like a little bug walking around on his back. And before you knew it, it was in the center of the sheet again. Everyone was praying. They believed there was something to him.

755 756 A shaman may also resort to such exhibitions to prove the hopelessness of a case:

> My father looked at the boy. He took two eagle tail feathers and stuck them down the boy's throat. He wobbled them around. He took the feathers out, and big worms were there on the white calico. They were big and they were fighting. My father said, "They are hungry. That means no lungs are left. I can't do anything for you. If you had come earlier, I could have cured him. But it is too late." He burned up the worms. . . . . They took him [the patient] back. . . . . He died.

755 If the cause of the illness is found to be witchcraft, the shaman may be counseled by his power to continue his songs and prayers with greater intensity and thus defy the witch. At the proper time (usually the fourth and last night) and under the direction of his supernatural sponsor, he sucks out the object of witchcraft with his lips or a tube and spits it into the fire, where it "pops." [827] [783] As the sorcerer's "arrow" falls into the fire, the onlookers spit, thus symbolically ridding themselves of things unclean. Objects of many kinds are sucked from the bodies of patients: "A bone, a stick, horsehair, a needle, human hair, a little buckskin pouch, a spider—these are the kinds of things taken out."

The traits which have been described are the ones most frequently represented in a curing rite, but occasionally other modes of treatment appear:

> A shaman may, after working over a sick person or sucking on the place that hurts, make a hissing noise to the directions, as though driving away the disease. This is called "to blow away from him." Some specialize in this.

755 262 [784] I went to visit C. I stood in front of him. He said, "Don't stand over me. Someone performed a ceremony for me and said that no one was to stand over me."

I never eat tongue myself. I had a ceremony performed over me when I was young, and at the end of it I was warned not to eat meat from the head of any animal.

A food taboo which becomes too irksome can be ceremonially lifted, however:

[788] The shaman tells you sometimes not to eat tongue or liver. If you don't want to keep away from this, after four days you cook liver or whatever it was he told you not to eat. Then he comes and marks it with pollen, puts it toward your mouth three times, and the fourth time you eat it. Then it is all right. This removel of the restriction is called "one can eat it again."

755 751 [431] At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman may present the patient with a curative or protective amulet to hasten recovery and to prevent a relapse. This may be one of the four ceremonial gifts required by the terms of the rite, but more often it is something especial made by the shaman.[19]

[777] [756] Often the shaman gives the woman patient a piece of decorated buckskin to wear on her hair. A turquoise bead might be given a man and a piece of abalone shell to a woman. Sometimes a buckskin jacket or cap is made for the patient by the shaman. Sometimes it is a feather, sometimes a cross. The patient is directed to wear this after the ceremony so the disease will not come back any more. Bags of paint or pollen are sometimes worn for good luck after a ceremony. Different shamans give different things to wear.

756 [431] [778] [782] [578] Before the shaman departs on the fourth night, payment is made to him. Usually an understanding has been reached in advance. Sometimes the gifts are in view during the entire last evening, for supernatural power is well pleased when its ceremony is generously rewarded. More than the agreed amount may be placed before the shaman. Then, because the ceremonialist is grateful to the patient, he is expected to continue to pray for him and ritually protect him. In fact, some resentment may be felt when a shaman does not maintain interest in a case:

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[19] In 1909, on the field expedition already mentioned, M. R. Harrington collected a large number of these amulets from the Chiricahua Apache. These objects are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

> That shaman knows my wife is worse. He knows she got sick just before his boy died. We moved over there and had our camp near his. He didn't do anything. I've done a lot for that man. I gave him a steer when his daughter had her puberty rite. I've taken him other food. He thinks I should keep right on doing things for him. 756 578

Often the service that a shaman has rendered his client is the basis for closer friendly relations. Although the process is informal, this bond is an important one for many individuals. "There is no set rule that a cured patient is under obligation to a shaman, but sometimes a person himself feels that way." 756 571

Where a ceremony ends in failure, the shaman does not suffer irreparable injury to his reputation unless he has expressed himself too confidently concerning a favorable outcome. The result may be attributed to the fact that the shaman was not called in time or to the strength of an opposing witch. The ultimate effects of the rite are not always at once obvious, though it is hoped that the ceremony will pave the way for steady recovery. Should that recovery lag, it may be accounted for by the patient's carelessness in the wearing of the protective amulet, or by his failure to observe strictly the taboos. That a shaman may succeed in one case and not in another is conceded. To "try" the ceremonies of a number of practitioners before relief from some tenacious ailment is obtained has been the experience of a large percentage of adults at some time in their lives. 756 554

CEREMONIALISM IN ACTION; OBTAINING AND USING POWER 755

Mountain People.—The functions of the Mountain People and of their most important representatives, the Mountain Spirits, are well illustrated in the myths. One tale describes the curing of two children, one legless and one blind. Abandoned, these two try vainly to follow their people. The blind boy carries the cripple and is guided by his directions. Then the Mountain People appear and conduct the boys to their "home." 773 776

> Many people lived in that mountain. They dressed all kinds of Mountain Spirits for these boys. They prayed and began to sing. There were women in the mountain too. The women made the sound, the cry of applause, as they do at the big tepee during the girl's puberty rite now.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

755 773 776 By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

773 776 Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

• 756 796 778 535 688 773 Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a [776] [522] Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

773 776 784 535 Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

> My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.
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> When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.
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> They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.
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> So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open, and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

776 and when he came to the mountain lions, he again pointed his finger, saying,
756 "Sh! Sh!" and they quieted down. My father and the clown went through the
778 door.

Then came the fourth door. There was nobody in there at the door. All these
796 doors were rock. At the fourth door the guide again repeated, "Sh! Sh!" and the
787 door opened. When my father got into the fourth room, it was just as if he were
535 in high mountains.

After the last door had opened, my father looked about a hundred feet away.
539 There was one old man sitting over there. The guide said, "That man is going to talk to you now, and you want to be very careful. He is the leader in this place. We are going to walk right up there, and he is going to ask you some questions in a rough voice, but don't be afraid. Now he sees you coming with me."

So they started to walk up to that old man. He was sitting in a big chair in an open place. He was an old, old man, with garments over his head and all around him. The clown told my father, "When I take you up there I am going to leave you, and he will talk to you. Don't be afraid. He is a kind man."

The clown and my father reached this old man. Then the clown said, "Ready!" and disappeared. This left my father standing there alone before that man, and that old man sat up looking angry. My father was standing right in front of him.

Then the old man said to my father, "What do you want in here? You have no business in here." Then my father was frightened. "You tell me what you want. You are not allowed in here; humans from outside are not allowed in here."

But my father said, "I want to live long in this world, and I want to be blessed. I want to live to be an old man."

"All right, you mean it, do you? You think you are going to be afraid?"

My father said, "I will try not to be afraid; that is not what I am looking for. I am looking for something good for myself and for my children, so that they will have some blessings. I have wanted to go into some holy place like this one I am in now. Will you help me?"

The old man said, "All right. I have talked roughly to you, but I will do what you say. I am a kind man. I have control of this whole mountain." Then my father says he saw some hills all around there.

The conversation went along like this with my father and the old man. "What kind of power do you want?" the old man asked him. "I have some very strict rules, so strict that if you fail, you are going to die. They will harm you, and if you fail them you are going to lose your life or some of your family. I tell you that beforehand. What kind of a shaman do you want to be?"

My father answered, "I can't tell unless I see what you will give me." He wanted to be shown.

The old man said, "You just wait a minute."

Then he got up. He could hardly get up; he was a very old, old man. He walked behind a little hill in there. He came back and took his seat. Then my

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father said he could hear things ringing, drums, and singing just like the masked dancers dancing—Apache drums and singing. He heard it in the east as if many dancers were coming. And then they came in from the east, the clown leading them. Many Indians dressed in buckskin and Mountain People came, dancing. Then they stopped right where he was. All kinds of birds, animals, and snakes came behind the Mountain People.

The old man told him, "These are the ceremonies I have here. Which do you want? Pick out the one you want and don't make a mistake."

When the old man finished speaking, my father said, it seemed that it was the privilege of those animals and Mountain People to say what they wanted to him. One little bird came up to my father and said to him, "I am the greatest power on earth; take me." Then the eagle came up and said, "I am the greatest power here; take me." Then the animals came up, also the snakes, and said the same thing.

My father says he thought of it from the beginning, of how the old man said not to make any mistake. So my father turned around and thought, "These little birds are too willing, and these others are too willing. There are some others sitting over there. I must not make a mistake."

He saw that the Mountain Spirits were the leading ones in there. So my father hesitated and thought, "Well, the clown and the Mountain Spirits haven't said anything to me."

They came around with a drum, with turquoise and a pollen cross on the drum. "The clown and Mountain Spirits say nothing, but they are good," my father thought. So my father turned to the old man and said, "I will take the Mountain Spirits."

That is the way it is today. Just as soon as he chose the Mountain Spirits, all the rest were ordered to go back. Just the Mountain Spirits were left. After all the birds, snakes, and animals were gone, there came many Indians, all dressed just like Chiricahua Apache. They started singing. My father has told me,"I was going through the performance. I got all the songs and designs. For four days I made masked dancers with a different design every day on each one." My father was learning the ceremony.

The old man said to him then, "You have done well. You did not make a mistake. I was watching you. The birds, animals, and snakes asked you to choose them, but you did right to choose the Mountain Spirits. They are the most powerful, the best thing here. Now you are going to stay here and have a good time for four days."

My father says that after this the Indians gathered, and they began to dance just as they do at the girl's puberty ceremony. White Painted Woman ran just as the girls do now. So my father in four days learned the whole thing. My father called the mountain "Holy Mountain." He says that he gets messages from these people whenever he holds his ceremony. When he wants to know how to cure a man, they come and tell him. He says they talk. He stayed another four days and four nights there.

776 After four days the old man asked him, "Do you have what you want?" My
756 father said, "Yes."

He said, "You didn't make any mistake."

778 My father answered, "I hope not."

796 The old man explained, "This is a good thing for you. The Mountain People
787 will take care of you all your life. You can hand the ceremony down to anyone
you want to. You can do anything you like. If the ceremony is given to your
535 child, you will not have to ask for any ceremonial gifts; but if it is passed on to
539 other people, then you can ask for gifts. But if you love someone else, you can
hand it down to that one without gifts."

The Mountain People gave him directions. "You cannot sing these songs for nothing." So today my father is hard to convince on that.

After the four days, when this old man had told him he had what he wanted, the Mountain Spirits had all gone. Then the clown came. The old man ordered the clown back. The old man told my father, "That is all. I am through with you. Everything is all right. I hope you have a long life in this world. You may go home and use the ceremony according to what the Mountain People want you to do."

The clown had to take my father back through the mountain. They had to come back through those doors. They came again to the big mountain lions. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and told my father to come right behind him. They returned to the snakes. The snakes tried to stop them. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and then told my father to come right behind him. Then they reached the last door, that great rock swinging around and around. The clown stopped there and said to the rock, "Sh! Sh!" and to my father, "You come right behind me." And they went through. Then they came to the cliff. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" again, and the whole thing opened like a door. The clown started to walk down the steep bluff. He said, "You must come behind me." My father says when he first went up there the spirit lifted him up suddenly, but now he had to follow the clown down or stay where he was. He did not think he could walk down the cliff but he followed the clown, and they walked down easily.

The clown said, "Here are four things I am going to give you." He gave him a little eagle feather, a very fine feather, and said, "This is one." He held something in his hand and said, "This is a small round turquoise with a hole in it. That makes two." He put the feather through the turquoise. He said, "If you are going to sing for a sick boy, the parents of the boy or his other relatives must give you a turquoise with an eagle feather like this. If he really wants to get well and believes in you, he must also give you a live thing, a horse or a cow, or anything you want, but it must be alive. The turquoise and eagle feather are used only in curing men and boys. The other gifts, which girls and women must give you, are the changing abalone and pollen. They must be tied in this way: the pollen must be in a little buckskin bag, and the string must be put through the hole in the abalone and tied in this way."

The curing rite in which masked dancers appear conforms to 755
an easily recognized pattern. Its salient features are well de- 756
scribed by one who has acted as an impersonator on many occa- 535
sions.

If a sick man wants a ceremony of the masked dancers put on for him, he has to feed the helpers, the ones who dance. And the shaman has to be paid a whole lot. I've danced for my father's ceremony. His ceremony doesn't have to be at night. If it's nice weather, it might be during the day. He can paint any number of masked dancers--two or four, but not one; there must be more than one. It's hard work to dance like this. I'd rather not do it. They go there and dance around that sick person for four or five hours. I'd rather get out on the feast grounds and dance [at the girl's puberty rite]. I get more pleasure out of it. This other is tiresome work.

This is the way I have seen my father do his ceremony. Let us say I am a pretty sick man. I ride up on my horse. I come in with my turquoise and an eagle feather through it. I have pollen in my hand in a buckskin bag. I take some of the pollen in my right hand. I hold it up to the east, then I turn to the south, then to the west, then to the north, sunwise. I say, "My father (whether the shaman is my father or not), I hope with what you know I can get relief." I say to him, "This is your power," and I place a cross of pollen on his right foot. The shaman is sitting with his fingers touching his knees. Then I take my pollen and bring it up to the knee, then to the fingertips, down the left leg again, to the left foot, where I again make the cross with pollen. I still have the turquoise and eagle feather in my right hand. I either tie it to the buckskin string on his right moccasin or else just put it on there and he will pick it up.

Then I will be standing before him and say, "There is my horse standing just as I got off him, with my bridle, saddle, and blanket. I am a poor man. I want to live. I have given you all I have." Then I sit down.

Maybe he will not say anything for a while. I look as sick as I can so he will take pity on me. I am waiting for his answer. Finally he says, "All right," if he wants to take the case. He knows I am sick and have to be attended to right away. He says, "Bring your blankets and stay here."

He has to have a brush hut, and he must use two kinds of trees, juniper and spruce, to make a corral. It is up to him to fix the corral, or he can ask my parents or relatives to help him. I will be outside in the brush hut.

Now the shaman goes out and gets four young men to act as masked dancers. He comes back with them. My relatives are all working on the corral. They leave an open space facing the east, another doorway facing the south, another facing the west, and one facing the north. They make a fireplace in the middle of the corral.

I am taken into the corral. While my relatives are finishing the corral, the shaman is painting the masked dancers in the brush hut. I come in and await

755 instructions. The shaman is with the masked dancers. He sees that everything is all right.

756 535 The shaman and the masked dancers come into the corral from the east when they are ready to begin. The shaman will be singing songs and may be dancing a little. The masked dancers are following him. He goes to the fire, walks around it clockwise, then goes on and comes back to the east. He tells the masked dancers to go around the fire four times and worship the fire four times. The masked dancers trot once around the fire. Then they back up and advance toward the fire again. They do that four times, and at the fourth time they make their call. They repeat the same thing, going around the fire once, but stopping this time at the south. They worship the fire in the same way from the south, west, and north.

The old man says to me, "Put your blanket right there." Then he goes to his masked dancers. He says, "There is a sick man over there. He wants to go through this ceremony." He tells me he is going to bring the masked dancers in to me. He says, "Are you able to sit up?" I answer that I am.

He says, "Have you pollen?" I reply, "Yes, I have it." I have some pollen in an open buckskin bag in my left hand. I have another turquoise with an eagle feather through it.

The shaman stands with a drum. I am facing the masked dancers. The shaman tells me, "All right, go ahead and put the pollen on the masked dancers."

I do this the same way I did it to the shaman. The leading masked dancer is dancing. I make signs to the directions, and the leader has to lean down so I can put the pollen on him. I put the turquoise on the leading dancer too. Then he stands aside and I do the same thing with the pollen to the next masked dancer. He then stands aside and I put the pollen on the remaining dancers.

Now the shaman asks, "Are you able to stand up?" And I answer, "Yes."

He says, "Maybe it will be good for you to stand and let the masked dancers work on you." So I stand up.

Then the shaman asks, "Where is your pain! What is ailing you?" And I tell him it looks as though I am very sick in my legs.

"On which side?"

"This side."

Or I may have a headache all the time that nothing can cure. If this is what I say, he tells the masked dancers who are standing there, "This man has not been relieved of his headache. Now I want you men to work on him. He is going to stand here."

He tells the masked dancers to come to the front of me. He is singing. He wants me to stand and let the masked dancers work on me. Many Chiricahua are watching me. The masked dancers begin to dance back and forth four times. The fourth time the leading dancer will shake his sticks with a weaving motion and cross them on my forehead. And pretty soon he takes hold of my hair on both sides and pulls as hard as he can, gives a cry, and lifts me up. He blows

away the sickness to the east, south, west, and north. Then the masked dancers 755
go around me once and stop on the south side. Then they come back to me and 756
go through the same thing from the other directions. Then they go out of the 535
corral.

The shaman asks me if I am tired and want to sit down. I say I would like to sit down, so they bring my blanket into the corral. I am sitting in the center alone.

When the masked dancers hear the drumming and singing start again, the leader begins to wave his sticks and dances around the corral four times, the fourth time stopping at the east. This blesses everybody in the corral.

The shaman tells the masked dancers to come in. The dancers face me. While the singing and drumming are going on, they dance around me four times. Then the shaman stops them.

He says, "All right, go around the fire once." While the singing is going on, they start to dance. Every once in a while the dancers blow to the directions to blow the disease away. They go around the fire once after they get through with me. All the time the singing is going on. Then the masked dancers go through the east door. Then they come back, dance around the fire, and go through the south door, dancing and blowing things away. They repeat the same thing through the west and north doors. They do all that has been described for four days or nights.

On the second or third night, if the shaman wants to see whether I am going 755
to get well, he takes the abalone and comes up to me where everybody can see me. 756
He sings and prays and holds up the abalone. Four times he puts the abalone against my forehead, and, if it sticks there by itself the fourth time, I am going to get well. If it falls off, I am not going to recover. He also uses a feather. He tells me to open my shirt, takes the feather, and points the quill end at my chest, over my heart, four times, so that everybody can see it. If it sticks on the fourth time, there is hope of my living. He uses either the abalone or eagle feather or both. I have to open my shirt, and the feather is put right on my heart. If they both drop off, he says, "I can't help you." But he can't stop before the fourth night, even though the eagle feather and abalone fall.

If these things fall or if I am getting worse, he talks and shakes his outstretched hands to his power. He talks to the Mountain People, who promised to help him. He says, "I have been paid for doing this and now you have got to help me." Sometimes tears run down his face and he cries, "I am going to make this man well! Even if the power does not help him, I am going to cure him!" He is angry and fights it out with the power that has made him a shaman.

The shaman does not tell everything that is going on. His spirit or vision may tell him that it can't do anything for me, but he fights it out with the spirit or vision.

I may get well before the fourth night, but if I am really sick, I may not get well for some time. The shaman tells me whether I am going to get well or not, 755 756 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I must not put a knife in a cooking pot.[10] If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 751 535 789 796 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the prevention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] [881] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messenger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

> The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

> There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

[252] [784]

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[10] There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.

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823 political speech or religious speech . . . . the world or earth is called 'Earth Woman.' This really refers to White Painted Woman. The real way to say 'all the people of the earth' is to say 'all the people on the top of Earth Woman.' "

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756 A shaman once had a girl impersonate White Painted Woman to symbolize the feminine principle:

> He chose a little girl, nine or ten years old, and marked her and told her to come up and give food to the patient. Then he prayed again. Then the little girl picked up the food and first gave the patient the soup . . . . marked with pollen and an herb. She picked up the spoon which the man had marked with pollen, but the ceremonial man made four motions with her hand to the mouth of the patient, and then said, "You give him all he wants. It won't hurt him." . . . . The shaman said, "That part of the ceremony I performed where I took the girl to feed the man—she was part of the ceremony. . . . . She knew the power of Woman; that's why I used her. Woman, White Painted Woman, is the power I was using. If the patient had been a woman, I would have used Child of the Water [i.e., a boy].

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824 *Thunder* (*lightning*).—Sage is a most generally used prophylactic against lightning sickness. A spray of it is usually worn during rainy weather, and some is hung up in the form of a cross in the home. Cudweed is another plant for which similar properties are claimed. But, in spite of all safeguards, lightning sickness does occur, and a ceremony to cure it exists.

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> I received my ceremony through a dream when I was a young man. I just lay down and dreamed that I heard a voice, and the words of my songs were repeated. The giver said these words of the song in my ear while I slept. I believe that this power came from Thunder.
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> I have cured boys around here. I tried to perform a ceremony on my daughters when they were sick, but they did not want it. They did not allow me to do it, and they died. They did not believe in it. I performed this ceremony for my son. The white doctor said there was no hope. I said to the doctor, "If there is no hope, I would like to take him home and be by his side when he dies." I took him home and performed the ceremony for four nights. The boy began to get better at once. The doctor was very surprised when he saw the boy around again. He said, "I didn't expect to see you well and around!" This was about seventeen years ago.
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> My ceremony cannot tell who a witch is.[33] I have no power over that. If I do

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[33] It is a comment on the degree of individuality among practitioners to note that another lightning shaman who believed that most witches were more powerful than shamans said, "The one exception is the man who gets his power from Lightning or Earth Mother. He has control over the witch."

not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get 755
a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the 756
ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather [431]
stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, 755
calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did [276]
this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and
put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With [531]
the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song: [533]

He in the sky who is holy, [539]
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father. [823]

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. [822]
At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. [778]
Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make 756
the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my 292
dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs [787]
to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way. [777]

I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

• 756 292 deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

756 751 There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[23]

> Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

824 278 [787] [752] *Plants.*—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

824 721 789 648 539 A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

> This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.
>
> The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.
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> For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

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[23] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus 721
with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men 789
fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. 648
He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. 539
They had no trouble after that.

Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as 224
their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for 789
such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony 825
in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and [832]
execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his 756
power source is the success with which he can predict when, 224
where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For 825
some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at 778
will has been claimed. 554

> Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."
>
> But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."
>
> "No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in 756
many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in 224
stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the bene- 789
fits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by [868]
supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents
to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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on the hunt is of constant importance to all grown men, those who do not possess such supernatural help, when they have been unsuccessful for any length of time, go to a deer or antelope shaman and hire him to perform his ceremony on their behalf.

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The concept of animal homes is frequently encountered in connection with hunting rites:

A long time ago they made arrows of lightning for the Indians. There was one little cloud up in the sky, and the lightning from there killed a deer. All the time the Indians used to eat antelopes and deer killed by lightning.

[911]
One time a bunch of men just like these Indians around here got together and were talking. They said, "If we have lightning to kill things, pretty soon there will not be anything left on this world." So the old men talked about making arrows out of carrizo. They took this reed which is hollow and put inside it a foreshaft with a mark like a crawling snake.[24] They could shoot with it then. They did not have guns in those days. The Indians had bows and arrows in those days, but they could not kill anything. The lightning would kill things for them before this, but they could not find any game. Now the lightning would not help them any longer.

One time they were almost starving. One man went out hunting and was trailing some deer tracks. It was flat all over and there was a little hole out there with deer tracks around it, but the man could not find the deer. He was looking around where the deer tracks were and he saw a man coming out of the hole.

The man said to him, "What are you looking for? You have been looking for a long time and you don't find anything."

The hunter said, "I am looking for deer. Their tracks are fresh around here, but I can't find them."

The other man said, "Deer? What do you mean by saying 'deer'? I guess you must mean my horses." Then this man added, "They were here this morning and I just put them in the hole a little while ago." And then this man told the hunter, "I will give you some ceremonial power and from now on you can see the deer and you will have plenty to eat." This is why Indians can now kill deer.

When the hunter went back to camp that night, the others asked him where he got the power to kill deer. They kept on asking and asking, but the hunter would not tell them, for the man at the hole had told him not to tell, saying, "Even if you come to other camps, don't tell or you won't get anything to eat from me." But the Indians kept on asking and after a while the hunter got angry and told them. And from that time on they were starving again.

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Before continuing to another story which emphasizes the importance of these animal homes, it is necessary to introduce a belief relating to the hunt:

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[24] This refers to the fluting on the arrow.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

825 [231] [232] If you have a good deer dog, burn deerskin and make him inhale it. Then he becomes a good hunter. I had a sick hunting dog. I tried everything. The dog was going down. I hated to lose him. So I got deerskin and rags and burned them together and made the dog inhale the smoke. He got well too. I tried it the last thing.

825 237 [778] [773] Buckskin, especially from deer which have been caught in head nooses or otherwise killed without damage to the hide, is in great demand for ceremonial gifts and for the making of amulets. "It is the holy hide, used for ceremonial purposes. It is supposed to come from a strangled deer, and the skin is supposed to be unblemished. Child of the Water used it so on earth; that is why."

825 224 When a hunter kills a deer, the carcass, the hide, and even the offal are treated according to prescribed rule, but, since all hunters observe these usages, a description of them is deferred until hunting methods are treated.

756 825 787 539 *Bear.*—A vision journey which resulted in the acquisition of a bear ceremony is described by the son of the man who became a bear shaman:

My father went across the plains twice, and the second time he slept at a place just beyond the White Sands. He usually found his tribe in the foothills at Hot Springs.

The second time, when he was sleeping at the place, something came to him. It was close to the springs. He was a little up the hills on a rock. He built a fire and went to sleep. He made a mattress of grass.

Close to morning he was sleeping there. He was sound asleep. It touched him and told him to awake. It had something to tell him. He pushed the cover off his head, and there sat a silver-tip bear. It spoke in a human way to him and told him it was time for him to get up and that he was about to get something to know and to travel by.

He got up. He knew that a door was open to him. He just walked right in, into the rocks. He was led into a room, and the bear changed itself into the form of a human and told him to follow wherever he went.

And so he showed him through the gate where the striking rocks were working, hitting against each other all the time. But they went through. Then they came to a place where four points of rock went back and forth. They also walked through that. They came to another rock that was rolling and was in the form of a round ball, just like a hill. It hit the bank on the other side all the time. But they walked over it and didn't even notice it strike the bank. Then they came to the swinging rock door, and it worked as in many other places.

Then they came to two big bears, black and white, at a gate. My father's guide told him to go on and they went through. On further they came to two big snakes, a black one and a white one. But they went through. This time something they never had seen before was present in the cave. It was the wolf, the big timber wolf. There were two, a black one and a white one. The wolf spoke to him, but he went on. 756 787 825 539

Then on further they came to two geese, a black one and a white one. When they saw my father, they tried to fly, but they came to the ground all the time because they felt pretty good. They said, "We know you. We have known you all the time." That's what the geese said.

Everything went smoothly until they started to cross a place where there were two moving logs used for a bridge. After my father crossed this bridge, he came into another more beautiful place. He asked the guide what this place was. He told him that it was the home of Summer[45] right there, but he passed through that place and then went to a crossing where a spider had a web for a bridge. He also crossed this without trouble.

Then he came to a still more beautiful place. Very pretty flowers were growing there. All of these spoke. He asked what this place was, and the bear told him that this was the home of the flowers and the herbs used for curing men all over the world. "This is Medicine's home."

He went on. Then came the humans. The humans were working out in the fields. They ran toward him and tried to show him many [supernatural] things. He paid no attention to them.

Then he came to a place where there was nothing but beautiful women. There were girls only there, dressed like White Painted Woman, who had just gone through the puberty ceremony. The girl's ceremony was shown him there. That was the home of the girl's puberty rite. But he paid no attention to this either.

On he went. He came to another land, and you could hear the drums beating steadily. It was even more beautiful. There were different kinds of Black Ones and Mountain Spirits there with different markings. It all belonged to the girl's puberty rite. The man said to him, "If you want to be the leader of the Mountain Spirits, you can take those four Mountain Spirits there. They are used in every way. They are the leading Mountain Spirits, stronger than any you saw in any other caves." There were twelve there altogether. His guide said, "You can use only four a night. If sickness is in the country, you can use them." But my father said, "No," and went on.

Then he was led out into the further end, and out before him was a big man. There were four tables. The man showed him all, but my father said, "No, I want to go to one stronger than you."

The man said, "No, they usually go no farther. This is the best." But my father said, "No," and wouldn't take any of it.

He went into another room, and there in the middle sat another man with a chair that turned either way. From him shone all kinds of light. And all around him was green fruit.

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[45] The personification of summer is not unusual in these stories.

756 787 825 539 The man studied my father. He said, "There is no human who has come this far, passing the first man. What do you come for? You see many fruits here, and there are things here that are valuable above all. What you ask for your own good, for raising your children, I will give you."

My father said, "I come for one that is strongest. Are you the strongest?"

"No, there are two above me."

Then my father went on. He came to another man who was shining with a yellow light before him. The light made it appear as though the wind were blowing pollen from the trees around him, but it was not. This man also knew that my father was not going to stop there. So he brought before him two yellow horses with white tails. And a sort of wagon was there.

My father got in the wagon[26] with a guide, and they came to a gate, a big white gate. Everything was as white as could be, even the trees and fruit. Even the faces of the people there shone, and before him he saw all kinds of things. He bowed down four times, and the fourth time he was before a man in a big white chair who had a white staff in his right hand. This man was the last one. This man asked him how he got in and such things as that. My father told him all.

"We had better be moving," the man said, "for it is getting daylight."

So he listened and said "Yes" to everything my father asked him. Everything my father wanted, he got.

"I hate to see poor people sick. I hate it when people are walking along the road poor and without horses. I want to know what is best to do for them. You can give me what you think is best."

This man sang and performed what was given my father. And it raised him as though he had wings. There was nothing but clouds around him. Before him everything shook, and there was lightning and thunder. Much was shown my father, terrible things [witchcraft] and how to stop them.

The man handed him a staff. You'll always have this. It will speak itself. It must never be lost." He told him what was best. And this, they say, was the power of Bear.

After this he knew all the people and their ways and their thoughts, and what was going to be done, and what was going to happen to them. Afterward he did much healing, even for the whites and Mexicans. He was known in Comanche country and by the Navaho.

755 757 The curing ceremony which stemmed from this experience was recalled by the same informant:

> He held a bear ceremony for four nights to heal the sick. That's as long as he would continue it. He cured many diseases through it. He used it once on a severe case of pneumonia, the worst case of pneumonia I ever saw. This was right out in the hills. The girl had hemorrhages with it. I thought she was going to die.

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[26] Note the elements of European influence in this story.

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They had to run the horses up the side of a mountain and were at the top. One of them caught a gentle horse and got on it. The other roped a wild one, and when he was about to get on, it pitched with him and threw him off. He lay there as though he were dead. Only his throat moved a little.

The man who was left sat there crying. He didn't know what to do. He had a little buckskin pouch of pollen tied around his waist. There was one old sorrel horse standing near by He marked the forehead of the horse with pollen and asked the horse to help him restore his companion. He led the horse to the man, from the east, and the horse put his nose to the man four times and neighed. In the same way he led the horse to the injured man from the south, the west, and the north, and the horse acted the same each time. Then the injured man began to stir, and he got up and asked what had happened. The sorrel horse went back to the herd then.

Later this sorrel horse talked to the man it had cured. It told him where the two men should camp that night on the return journey. They followed this advice. The horse told him where to camp for the second night too. This was at an open place, but the horse said, "Do not be afraid even though it is out in the open." They camped in that place and were not disturbed. The third night the horse told him that they should camp at a place called Sand House. On the fourth night the horse told him that they should stop between two mountains.

Then the horse spoke to the one it had cured. It told him, "I'm old and I'm no longer strong. I'd like to take you back to the place where you live, but I can't make it. A man who is thin can make it back to his home. But horses are different. We have to be fat and strong. So after you start out tomorrow you are going to miss me. But don't look for me. I am going back to my home. But I'll tell you now just how to continue your journey, where to stop each night, and where your relatives are now."

And the horse told him, "I give these songs to you. You will be a shaman through the horse. If anyone falls off a horse and is injured, you can heal him with these songs. These songs will cure even if bones are broken. And here is some medicine to use for those who are hurt inside.[30] But if the large cords at the back of the neck are broken, the ones which hold up the head, this ceremony will not be able to restore the person." [756] •

The men continued the journey as the horse directed and got back safely to their people.

How this man effectively used the ceremony he thus obtained is the subject of another narrative: 231 755 539

A leading man rode out with others to get horses that they had tied out somewhere. The rest came back, but this leading man was still missing. His family were worried. Then someone saw his horse standing on a ridge. It was saddled,

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[30] Possibly "horse medicine" (*Eriogonum jamesii*), of which it is said, "It is a plant used in the horse ceremony. It is chewed for luck with horses. Give it to horses, too, when they are sick." [137] [777] [232]

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It happened at Baharito. We were driving a bunch of wild horses. T. had the gentle horses and some of us younger men were running the wild ones. P.'s horse got his foot in a hole. The horse fell with him. The rope was caught around P.'s knee and he lay like dead with his mouth open when we came up. After the horse fell, it got up and walked a little ways and stood there. I was going to P., but Old T. said, "Get away and don't touch him."[31] So we went away and talked of other things.

T. went to the east side and walked toward him, praying softly to himself. I could not hear what he said. He touched him, kicked him four times under the foot, put pollen in his mouth, and told him to get up. And P. did. T. went back to where the horse fell and got dirt from four tracks and put it in P.'s mouth. Then he got saliva from the mouth of the horse and put it all over P.'s clothes.

231 755 533 539 [126]

In recording ceremonial songs, the details of another horse ceremony were learned:

This is R.'s horse ceremonial song. We were driving horses to Whitetail where we were going to brand them. This happened at Whitetail Spring. There were only three horses left in the corral. W. went across. Two others were in there roping horses. The three horses started at once and knocked W. down. He was nearly dead; he didn't come to for three or four hours.

Then R. worked on him. That's how I heard this song. He sang more than this one song, but I just caught this one. If you ever get hurt from a horse, it will fix you up. He used some herbs in his ceremony too. . . . .

These are the words of the song:

The sun's horse is a yellow stallion;
His nose, the place above his nose, is of haze,
His ears, of the small lightning, are moving back and forth.
He has come to us.
The sun's horse is a yellow stallion,
A blue stallion, a black stallion;
The sun's horse has come out to us.

231 789 [533] [782]

The horse ceremony is of great importance also in taming wild horses and in securing fresh horses on raids. When it is used for these purposes, the rite is confined principally to songs and prayers.

[779]

Some knew how to sing before going on a raid. They sang to corralled horses, so the horses would give them good luck.

[726]

Before leaving for raid or war, they often have a ceremony conducted by one who knows the ceremony of the horse. This is so good horses will fall into their

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[31] After a mishap with a horse, recovery is speedier if the injured person is not touched until a horse shaman takes charge.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck. 789 726 777

Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms: 231 525

> A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that. 541 789 [237]
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> Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[31]

When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman. 232 756 231

> T. . . . . knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse: 232 789

> If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position. 231
>
> When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.
>
> We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.
>
> Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself. 231 789 [237]

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[31] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy." [825] [237]

231 As various domestic animals have become more numerous, the
232 horse shaman has seemed to be the logical person to cure them
756 and is now thought of as the one who "knows a lot about [domestic] animal sickness." "These are the ones who take care of the diseases of animals; they have a general knowledge of animals."

231 There is some difference of opinion concerning the material
756 benefits of a horse ceremony to the horse shaman himself. The story of the woman horse shaman whose horses were sleek and fine seems to bear out the statement of an informant who said, "Some persons have a ceremony from the horse and have fit horses all the time." But the opposite view is held by others. "I think that N. had power from the horse. His horses were poor. Some people say that a man with a horse ceremony has pretty poor horses. He can help others but not himself."

Wild goose.—An excellent example of the special abilities
825 which a shaman may acquire because of the characteristics of his
787 supernatural guardian, is power obtained from the wild goose:

539 During the old times when Geronimo was around doing mischief, the Chiricahua used to get a band of ten or twelve and go to the Mexican border and drive cattle home. A certain man got tired and was left behind. It got to the point where they couldn't help him, so they left him behind. They thought he would catch up. He was tired, hungry, discouraged, and had given up. He was thinking all sorts of unpleasant things. It was pretty bad.

All at once Goose appeared to him and said, "What's the matter?" He said, "I'm in a bad fix."

Goose said, "All right, I'll give you a certain ceremony, and you must obey. You must follow my directions exactly."

He gave the man four songs. The goose spoke of feathers; it told him he had to rub them on his right side. Goose is long winded and goes for many days. Goose said to him, "I will give you my endurance."

It happened that way. He caught up to the others. Everyone was surprised. The man was able to pass over broad flat lands without being tired out after that. The one who told me this story says that he had this man sing over him; then he won an important race.

825 *Nighthawk.*—An informant tells how he was cured by the
755 power of Nighthawk in a rite jointly conducted by two shamans:

539 Old Man D. and T. knew the ceremony of the nighthawk. I saw them perform it several times. They sang together. Both knew the same thing; one learned it from the other. T. learned it from D.

82 789 [137] [783] [764] they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

> For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.
>
> [304] By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

755 756 775 But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

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[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[34] [753] [761] [721] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

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happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows 756
the enemy-ghost ceremony." 775

Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from per- 775
secution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the 765
period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a pre- 789
ventive rite may be performed: 756

> The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all [302] the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. [302] Each shaman has his own way.

Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost 755
sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has 756
supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

> I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grand- 755
> mother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those 756
> who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. 825
> Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.
>
> After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.
>
> Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used 755
> only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two 756
> nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.
>
> If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

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755 756 and I go to the person's camp for two nights. Those who want me to work for them have to give me a black-handled knife.[35] That is the rule: without it I cannot work. They give it to me before the ceremony. When my ceremony can help, even though an owl has frightened a person and he is unconscious the first night, he is supposed to get all right the second night.

755 I work with ashes. That is part of the power. My grandmother used ashes and nothing else. Before I do anything else I dip my hand in ashes and make a sign of the cross with the thumb and the first finger of my right hand. Then before praying I rub ashes on the patient. I mark the patient with ashes on the forehead, the top of the head, and the breast.

[788] [782] Then I roll a cigarette. The sick person must puff toward the east. In case the person is unconscious, I do it for him. Then I pray to the directions and send his sickness away. On the patient's head there is something that I can see. I see it that way on a sick person. And I see it on the breast of the sick person, something that sticks out.[36] I paint the body of the patient with pollen, on both shoulders and back, going around clockwise. I say prayers to the directions too. I talk to the darkness [owl].

755 782 823 In my prayer to the east I say, "Let no one come back from the east to bother this poor person again." I say this so all bad luck regarding the owl will fly away from the patient. Talking to the owl, I say, "You are the one who has done this. Never do this again."

At the south I say, "The downy feathers of the owl must not come back to harm this person again. Stay away from this person altogether, because you are the one who harmed him."

Next I turn toward the west and say, "This person doesn't want to eat. He has something on his breast. Therefore do not allow anybody to come back to harm this sick one. You are able to restore him as he used to be. For your own sake and his, help him to get up again."

I speak to the north now, and I call on darkness too. "Make this person strong. Help him eat again. Give him life again. And never do this again. Let him live to an old age in this world."

755 533 782 [823] I pray for just a little while, just as long as these prayers last. Then I start the songs. The first song mentions the east and the south. The only words are, "East, in its head, you listen." This is repeated four times. Then I turn to the south and sing, "South, you listen." The second song just repeats, "West, you listen; north, you listen." After these songs everything evil from the heart to the head comes out. The third song mentions the flint cross. I make a low humming noise four times at the end of this song. The fourth song says, "In the

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[35] Probably a long black flint or obsidian blade preceded the black-handled knife as a ceremonial present for this rite.

[753] [36] The materialization of ghost sickness as a shapeless black or white object has been mentioned before. The inference is that this is really the ghost or the owl, and sometimes it is said to assume the shape of one or the other.

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ences with Water Monster, Fire, Haze, Cyclone, Star, Moon, 128
Sun, Cloud, Badger, Bat, Beaver, Mountain Lion, Wildcat, 787
Bush Tit, Crow, Eagle, Hawk, Hummingbird, Yellow Warbler, and insects have been excluded because of considerations of space. But if the pattern, the range of power sources and ceremonies, and enough of the individual behavior to leaven the whole have emerged, the purpose has been achieved. It is interesting that, despite theoretical catholicity, the kinds of ceremonies obtained are, in practice, delimited by the concepts of disease and by the most vexing problems of existence. Thus, while power may be obtained from a wide variety of supernaturals, natural forces, animals, and the like, it is from a relatively small number of these (such as the game animals and the dreaded creatures which must be placated) that most rites actually come.

SKEPTICISM

Accounts of ceremonies usually come from the shaman him- 771
self, from his relatives and friends, or from a patient he has suc- 756
cessfully treated. Therefore, what is said will in most cases reflect the sentiments of the believer. But any member of the tribe can be, on occasion, a sharp critic of supernatural claims. This was so clear to one shaman that he told his audience: "Many of you people don't believe in what I'm doing. You think I'm a fake. I tell you to your faces that many of you will be willing to be this man when you see how I restore him."

Criticism and skepticism are not likely to appear in stories of the acquisition and use of power, but they are revealed in casual conversations. For instance, when I asked an informant to identify another man for me, he described him as a shaman who had attempted to cure his wife of a swollen throat and had failed.

The attitude of respect for a basic pattern, tempered by doubt 771
in regard to any individual claim which seems extravagant or un- 775
founded, is illustrated in a "ghost" story: 813

> One man was telling me that when he was coming home from hunting, between dark and dawn, he saw two big eyes looking at him. He got pretty frightened. He didn't want to shoot at it because he didn't know what it was. So he ran way around and approached it from the other side. When he got there he

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771 saw it was a cow. He said that if he had been like many Indians he would have
775 run away and said it was a ghost. That's how most of this ghost business turns
813 out. Three-fourths of it is just something natural, if you stay around to find out.
Of course, there are some experiences with ghosts that are real.

756 Precedent for a sense of proportion in respect to the claims and
motives of would-be shamans is found in the traditions. A tale is
771 told of a woman who boasted of her ability to determine the
787 whereabouts of the enemy by means of her supernatural power.
538 One night, when the people feared a surprise attack, they asked this woman to perform her rite for them. She went about the inside of the windbreak in which they were clustered, solemnly moved her [illegible] around, and assured them, "There is nothing. It is good all over." But in giving them this encouraging message, she leaned too far over the windbreak, and enemy soldiers who had crawled to it pulled her over and made her captive. The others, warned by her fate if not by her ceremony, fled under cover of darkness.

Another story has to do with a visitor who is asked to use his ceremony to find some missing tribesmen. He sings, shakes as though influenced by some invisible force, and is led into the brush. Returning, he asserts that a fully equipped horse must be tethered at a distant point to the east if his power is to continue the search. This is done, and again the man sings and is led into the darkness by his power, this time to the west. The others wait a long time for him to come back. Finally a hard-
[685] headed member of the group exclaims, "I'll bet he went over to
the horse!" This, indeed, is the case; the pretender has made off with the finest horse in the encampment.

771 Religiosity is thus tempered with a saving humor and dis-
754 trust which act as brakes upon unreasonable claims. In a setting
[626] where each person is allowed wide latitude in the acquisition of
power, the threat of public ridicule is a force in the maintenance of the pattern. The individualistic principle itself becomes a curb. Any person may claim extraordinary supernatural experiences, but any other person may equally question the validity of the assertion. Each shaman knows that there are those who believe in the efficacy of his rite and those who do not and that it is

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756 wise not to swell the number of the latter by radical departures from established custom.

In keeping with the principle that ceremonialism should be confined to recognized values, undignified religious excitement is cause for humor rather than for praise. 781 771 522

> This is sometimes called "religious excitement" or "religious ecstasy." It is the same as what is called "crazy ceremony." This is when a person goes through violent clapping of the hands involuntarily when in a religious ceremony. . . . . Some people get so excited in a ceremony that they shake all over or hit one hand on the other. I knew such a woman when I was young. Some go "Ah, ah, ah, ah!" - just gasp all the time. I knew one woman, part Chiricahua and part white, who acted like this when the masked dancers performed. The Chiricahua believe that you get this way when you take religion too seriously. Some Chiricahua think this is funny.

The motives of the shaman may be questioned: 756 771 156

> A woman shaman got all this poor woman's possessions. She was treating her for a long time. She kept asking for things. Finally she said that the sick woman would have to come to her camp to be cured. C. said when he heard about it that, if she went, she would never come back. And he was right.

Outright charges of fraud are not uncommon:

> That man was never known as a shaman. He just picked up those songs from anywhere and changed them. Now he uses them for ceremonial songs. I was out at Whitetail with my wife. He was sleeping in the next room. His son-in-law was out there. (This was when his daughter was still alive.) I heard him making those songs up. He'd sing it in different ways. He'd sing, "My song makes everything well." Now he uses it for a ceremonial song. After practicing he'd come in where I was. I'd sing those words, and he'd just stare at me. He wanted to make a church song;[37] then he turned it into a ceremonial song. They say that he is crazy now and that his songs don't mean anything. No one knows where he got them or what right he has to them.

Even when the patient recovers, the shaman may receive but grudging credit from his critics. Of one apparent cure, an informant said, "It is hard to tell why he got well. Maybe the man was ready to get well anyway, or maybe G. cured him." [755]

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[37] Songs patterned after old Chiricahua types musically but expressing Christian sentiments have lately been composed for church use. [533] [177]

formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to 726
putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and 411
thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black."

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

> When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated 726
with the ceremony obtained from weapons: 714

> They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the
> arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for
> the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To
> get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay [756]
> him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter
> how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on [789]
> his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted [531]
> cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain.

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for 726
themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." 411
Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of [756]
sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to [778]
the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within [177]
a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. [554]
The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexi- 726
cans: 411

> I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns 648
> that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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726 After the fast-loading gun with cartridges already fixed was in use, you had to
411 be very quick and a good warrior to use a spear. Not everyone used spears. Just a few were brave enough to use a spear that close.

756 Before the beginning of the journey constant measures of a
726 religious nature are taken. Amulets are procured; protective
787 caps and jackets are made or refurbished; shamans are consulted
concerning the probable outcome of the expedition. "The leader
[789] goes to a shaman and says, 'You know something. Help us. What will happen?' Then the shaman sings and prays and he tells the people to go on, that they will have success." Sometimes the prophecies of the shaman are not so reassuring, however. "Before they leave camp they might all go in a body to the shaman. He conducts his ceremony, and if he feels that the raid will not come off safely, he says so, and the party does not go out."

Raiding and warfare are the special interests of those who have supernatural power to find or frustrate the enemy. Therefore, one or more shamans are fairly sure to accompany any large war party. Not infrequently the leader himself is a man renowned for his religious attainments as well as for his military prowess. During the entire course of the journey the advice of those who claim revelations in regard to war are treated with respect. Even if the party does not include eminent shamans, the rank-and-file warriors do not fail to come ritually prepared:
[778] "Each warrior carries a bag of pollen. Pollen is given to him with
[278] other herbs if he gets sick [during the war expedition]."

726 The entire encampment gathers to watch the departure of the group. "They start sometime in the morning. When they are going for a real fight, everyone sees them off. When the men
[198] leave in the morning, the women give their call of applause."

722 The women, especially the wives of the departing men, have
562 certain obligations during the absence of the warriors:

784 The women are careful about keeping the woodpile neat while the men are gone. The wood should be placed one way and should not be scattered, and the children should be kept off it for fear they will throw it around, and then the man will be lost. There are no other restrictions on the women when the husbands are out fighting. Some women pray when their husbands are out. Some are as religious as anything, but this praying is not general. During raids or wars the

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726 [724] are clumsy and because when it gets warm the water gets a pitchy taste. Some might go on horseback and some on foot. Each man cooks for himself; each man eats what he has. If they capture horses from the enemy, each man ropes the best horse he can.

726 701 The leader or a shaman sometimes decorates the faces of the members of the group:

> •756 302 There is no special way of face-painting for all warriors. Some leader like Geronimo who has special power might decorate his men as his power directs him. Geronimo used to mark his men on the forehead, the sides of the face, and across the nose.[8] It was his own way though and not the way of all the Chiricahua.

726 702 868 Attached to the party sometimes are novices, though there is a tendency to encourage their attendance on the less hazardous raids instead:

> Just the young boy, the novice who is fourteen or fifteen years old, takes a stick and reed for scratching himself and for drinking water. They have to use the sacred language while they are out. These boys have to use this kind of talk around camp too as long as they are novices. On the warpath or raid the men call the novice Child of the Water.

726 [756] On the journey the shaman's advice is a powerful influence in determining the decisions of the leader:

> Any big war party will have a shaman along to tell them how to get success. He tells them whether to go to the open country or whether to keep back in the hills where the enemy are. They don't have to take any certain shaman along on a war party. There is sure to be some regular warrior along who has power.

Of the time and manner of attack on enemy camps, this account has been given: "We usually attack early in the morning. We are quiet when we go to attack. We fight in hand-to-hand action, and the individual can advance or retreat according to his chance and how the fight is going. In the battle the men obey the leader."

726 701 The role of the leader in the actual conflict is a central one:

> Before the engagement each leader would talk to his group and encourage them. He would go before them in battle and perform great feats to spur them on. After the engagement he had to lead his men to safety and water.

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[8] One informant gave a secular reason for the face-painting: "The white paint on the faces of Geronimo's men was to mark them in battle so they wouldn't kill their own men."

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> The shaman and the leader entered right into the fight. In a battle the leader 726
> and the shaman would each be on one flank of the men. The leader would detail 701
> two to go out in front. If the enemy should begin to charge them, the leader [756]
> would order all his men forward immediately. The leader takes the front and the shaman the rear, urging the men forward.

The position of the shaman at this time is not due to reluc- 726
tance to risk combat with the enemy. He falls behind "to per- 756
form his ceremony and prevent injuries." This ceremonial function may even overshadow in significance leadership of the more warlike type, for ceremonialism is injected into the military action from beginning to end. In a description of a specific war party which he accompanied and in which he and his kin avenged the death of a relative, an informant reports: "When the war party was ready to attack, the shaman prayed, turned to the four directions, then faced the warriors, and ordered them to charge."

Should the warriors find themselves in jeopardy, they resort to 726
strategy, as in this method of rendering Mexican firearms in- 725
effective: 648

> During the battle the Chiricahua used bows and arrows and spears but had no rifles. The Mexicans were not afraid of bows and arrows, so the Chiricahua leader would send two Indians into the open, just out of range. These two men would try to avoid the bullets; they were protected by the shamans and were never shot. The reason they sent these two men out was that the Mexicans' rifles would become heated after a while and they would not be able to shoot straight. I saw this happen often, for I was at war nearly every month.
>
> After the two Chiricahua had been in the open for perhaps half an hour, they would go back to the line of warriors. Then all would charge the Mexicans and kill as many as a hundred. Often the Indians would kill all of their foes; those on horseback might get away, but never those on foot. The only way the Mexicans could beat us was if some Chiricahua men were scouting and the Mexicans made a raid on their home camp in their absence.

When hard pressed, the warriors are capable of arranging 726
traps and ambushes: 725

> Suppose there were forty or fifty men out on the war party. The enemy is right after them. They get to a brushy place. They all go straight ahead and then they divide, and part come back on the side in the bushes. The enemy goes right on. The Chiricahua ahead begin shooting. Then when the enemy turns, the Chiricahua in their rear and on the side begin to shoot. They did this many times. They always have a couple of scouts behind and on the side and a couple

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556 upon a young man of rank are likely to assure him more than the ordinary share of gifts and products of the raid. His marriage connections will probably also be of the best. The tie between leadership and wealth is a close one:

> If a man gets a lot of cattle, all his friends and relatives want to help him and live off him; and so such a man is respected. Everybody wants to help him and be his friend. He may butcher an animal for the whole crowd occasionally. He becomes a leader. If he has many horses, all his friends use them; they thus put themselves under him, and he becomes their leader. A leader has to be rich anyway in order to give feasts. An important leader has four or five wives, and he takes care of them. In general, he has the best of everything. [595]

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555 Exceptional bravery sometimes elevates a warrior to rank even though his antecedents are ordinary:

> A man who has done great deeds in war may be looked on as a leader when he comes back, even though he is not of a leader's family. A prisoner who has grown up with the Chiricahua and has accepted the life might even become a leader if he is brave and successful enough.

622 The functions of the leader are varied:

> In case of war a leader heads the men when they go to battle. In time of peace he acts as adviser. He has charge of the group as far as camping, living conditions, and water supply are concerned. He advises the men about the hunt, where to go and how. Besides being an adviser and commander in war, the [627] leader is also a peacemaker on occasion. If there should be a murder and the leader finds it out, he and some assistants saddle their horses, ride out among the camps, and work for peace so that there will not be any trouble. If the leader is not present when the act occurs, there may be a lot of trouble. The people try to fix it up peaceably; if not, trouble continues and there may be a long family feud.
>
> [431] The leader is supposed to talk to his people. He is supposed to be sympathetic and tell them how to live, sympathetic in the sense of giving out horses and valuables to those who need them. The leader is supposed to give something to eat to everyone who comes around. He has control in time of war. You can't disobey him. The leader advises the people to help the unfortunate, to give to those whose luck is bad. He advises against fights in the camps; he doesn't want any quarrels within the group.
>
> [756] He advises the people to be on the lookout all the time. He may request that a ceremony be performed by a shaman for the benefit of the men during a raid. If the leader is advised by the shaman as a result of such a ceremony to do this or that, he carries out what the power tells him to do. [556] A man must be wealthy and have a big following to be a chief.
>
> Nothing special is done when a man becomes a leader. People just take it for granted. He talks then. He gives speeches on public occasions.

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person be cured. The power is expected to "speak" to the 755
Apache through which it "works," to reveal the cause of the 778
illness, and to give directions which will lead to recovery.
If the singer's power sees that the case is hopeless, this is
made plain to the shaman; if the power is not "strong"
enough to cure the patient, but the power of another has the
required potency, this is related.

No Apache, though he has much supernatural power, is
obliged to use it to cure others. Many individuals confine
their ritual practices to the requirements of their immediate
families. Other individuals make no secret of the merits of
their rites, court requests for their services, and become well
known for the cures with which they are credited. These [756]
people have become known as the "medicine-men of the
Apache" and their activities have given rise to the erroneous
impression that they alone control the ceremonial life
of these tribes.

When an Apache shaman is asked to conduct his rite, a 755
cross of pollen must be traced on his moccassins or a cigar- 756
ette must be laid on his foot by the suppliant. Before he can 431
begin, ceremonial gifts, usually four in number, must be [788]
tendered him. What these are to be has been explained to
the shaman when he obtained his power, and usually include
such objects as abalone shell (if a woman is to be cured),
turquoise (if the patient is a man), downy eagle feathers,
unblemished buckskin, and the like. These are considered
payment to the power and not to the shaman. After the
ceremony is concluded the shaman receives as his fee a
horse, a robe, a quantity of food, or something equally
practical.

The ordinary pattern is for the rite to be conducted for 755
two or four nights in a structure which faces the east. The
shaman first smokes a cigarette of native tobacco, puffing
the smoke to the cardinal directions in clockwise order. He [788]
marks the face and body of his patient with pollen (usually [824]
from the cat-tail, though this varies with different ceremonies)
and is marked by the patient in turn. After a set of
prayers he begins his songs. At the end of the second or

out. They had pollen and said, 'Stick your tongue out. We'll 754
cross your tongue with pollen and then anything you say you 787
want to happen to a person, like wanting him to be killed, will 539
happen that way.' I said, 'Go away, leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it.' I refused it, and they all opened the door and went out. But the next day the door was locked."[3]

He said, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it. Take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch.[4]

2. *The Leader Who Refused to Sacrifice a Man to His Power* 756

This is a story of the early days. This man was a great war- 778
rior. I've forgotten his name; my father knows it; all the old 782
men do. This man was a great shaman in the right way, other- 539
wise he would not have done what he did. This man was lead- 787
ing man of the warriors. He had charge of a big group of them. He seemed to know through his power what was going to happen.

One time his power said, "In a day or so you are going to get into action against the enemy. I have helped you in many ways with beneficial power; now you have to do it the way I want it. I want the bravest man in your group. I want you to give that man to me to be killed."[5]

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[3] Pollen, epecially pollen of the tule, is much used by the Chiricahua in 824
ceremonial contexts. The cross, symbolizing the four directions, also ap- 796
pears frequently. Power, either for good or evil, may be accepted or re- 823
jected by the individual approached. Witches are usually charged with 778
using material objects, such as the bones and hair of the dead, in their nefarious enterprises.

[4] This man was most indiscreet to admit that evil power had been of- 577
fered to him. Witches and witchcraft are so generally and irrationally 152
feared that even to hint of exposure to such temptation may make his 208
friends and relatives uneasy and suspicious. If public opinion ever turns against him, his account may be distorted and used to his disadvantage.

[5] To control much supernatural power is not always an unmixed blessing, the Chiricahua believe, for power, after helping a shaman for an extended

756 778 782 539 787 He answered, "I will do no such thing!" He was a brave man himself. He got angry at his power. He said, "What were you from the beginning when you first spoke to me? I like to see my people increase in population with what power you give me to help me along. I love all my men, my warriors. They want to live in the world as long as they can. I love all these people, women and all. If you were a witch from the beginning, why didn't you tell me? I don't like witch people; I won't have witches talk to me. You promised me that it was all good for my people and myself.[8] You didn't say that I'd have to give my people every now and then." He was arguing with his power, you see.

The power told him, "I have helped you a lot. I have gotten you out of danger and helped you in many other ways. And now I merely ask you for a man to pay for that, and you won't let me have one!"

The Apache said, "That's all right, I guess, but my habit is not that way, and I'm not going to do it. If you mean to save yourself a whole lot of trouble just take me. I love all the men. What have they to do with this power? If you want to take anyone or have anyone killed, take me."

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period, may one day ask for "payment." Such payment might include a request that a relative or friend of the shaman be sacrificed. The complicity of the shaman, then, amounts to failure to warn the friend of the impending disaster or failure to use his influence over his power to dissuade it from the deed. The power works obliquely and takes its victims through sickness or during battle.

[954] [8] The shaman is hinting that this power must be evil rather than good. The Chiricahua conceive of the duality of supernatural power. Power may be used for good or for evil. In the latter case it is considered witchcraft. The impetus for the use of power for evil may come from the power itself, as in this story, or from the shaman. Sometimes a shaman will not consent to act as a tool of evil power; sometimes a source of power will desert a person "through whom it works" because that person wishes to use it in unsavory connections. For a summary of these beliefs see Morris Edward Opler, "The Concept of Supernatural Power among the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1935, pp. 65–70 and *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 242–257. [113]

They were talking during the day. The power said, "All right, 756
I'll give you tonight and all day tomorrow. Tomorrow night 778
you tell me what you are going to do." 782

The next day he called all his warriors and all his group to- 539
gether and all gathered around him. He said, "My brothers and 787
sisters, what I have known for you people I thought was good. But at last I find out it is witchcraft. Last night I was fighting with my power. In another day or so we are going into battle. And my power told me to give up one of the very best warriors, the bravest man, the best man. I told my power, 'I will not do it. Just take me. If this ceremony is evil why didn't you tell me in the first place?' Power is angry with me, and I'm angry with him. My power told me to answer today or tonight and tell what I'm going to do."

He promised those Indians he would not do what the power requested. He said he'd rather pay the death himself. He said, "In a day or so we're going into battle. I may be killed then, for I will not give up one of my men. We've got to have this battle. We can't escape it. And I'm going to pay the death myself, but no one else will get hurt. Go ahead and fight the battle." He was a brave man.

Night came. He began to dispute with his power again. He wanted his way and Power wanted his. Finally his power said, "Well, then, I'll take you."

He said, "All right, for you're not going to have your way."

So the next morning he told the Apache again that he was not going to live more than a few days longer.

After another day or so they got into battle, so they claim. It was a hand-to-hand fight with guns, close. All the Indians fought faithfully. They killed many of their enemies. This shaman was the only man killed on their side. He was shot right in the forehead. That happened a long time ago.

3. *Old Dick Cures His Friend* 755

There was a man who had power in a different way. He, too, 756
could heal in many ways and he performed his ceremony against 778
787
539

755 sickness. If the sick one was witched, he would not try it but
756 would tell to whom it was best to go to have it taken out.[7] If it
778 was just a matter of sickness he could do it himself.

787 This man, while he was in Oklahoma, was riding along. He
539 did many things he ought not to have tried. He took out objects of witchcraft. This Apache's power warned him not to touch the witch and not to try it. He was told he was going up against a rock he could not go through. He saw a big tree in the open. The tree asked him to move it to a place he liked better. He could not do it. It was just like that. And Power showed him in another way. It showed him a mountain. He asked it to move, but it would not move. It was like that. He did not have the power to do it.

"We cannot bother witches," his power told him. But he went on and held the ceremony. He held it for two days. At the end of the two days he tried to pull it out.[8] He was up against it. He couldn't do a thing.

His power told him, "You're going to take it out next time but you're going to give your life for that boy."[9]

So he pulled it out. But it stuck in him. And the ceremony was over. The boy got well, but in four days this man got sick.

One friend who loved him hired a very powerful man to cure him. Everybody knew this man. He was Old Man Dick. Dick sang over him for six days and couldn't get him back to his senses. Then he got very angry. The last ceremony of the seventh day and night he said, "I'm going to send my power to help the one who is going away from us, and I don't think he will go away.[10] And he can have my power and we'll carry on together and do nothing but good in this world."

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[171] [7] In other words, he acted as a diagnostician in cases of witchcraft. That the Navaho had diagnosticians is well known; that they existed also among the Chiricahua and other Apache groups is less well understood.

[8] Shamans cured the victims of witches by extracting from their bodies objects of witchcraft which had been "shot" into them by the evildoers.

[9] That is, he succeeded only in transferring the cause of the sickness from the boy to himself.

[195] [10] A euphemism for dying.

755

The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after 756
his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little 778
thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do 787
for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put 539
him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.[11] At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.[12] They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or
not.[13] And you women can call when you hear White-Painted [776]
Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.[14]

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[11] Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, [824]
growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and [788]
was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the
place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification. [783]

[12] The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with [796]
the east, the most important ritual direction. [823]

[13] The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism. [535]

[14] The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry. [782]

[198]

755 After the fourth word Child-of-the-Water will be mentioned. At
756 the sixth word White-Painted Woman will be mentioned. Then
778 you dance and after the singing let him eat the gravy." Every-
787 thing came out the way he said.

539 Then they wanted to hear Tuisga sing. Tuisga started to sing himself. Tuisga said later, "Neither of us remembered one word of that song afterward. That was a supernatural song. Power was practicing it on me. I did not know it. Through it they were healing me."

After the ceremony everyone was glad.

I wasn't there at this time. He told me the story night after night, for he wanted me to be a shaman. He said, "You listen to this. It's worth while. And some day you will know the ceremony and be telling it like this."[15]

791 4. *The Witch Who Made Off With a Horse*

778 Enti was a Central Chiricahua, but he was always traveling
539 around.[16] Once he came to the camp of Old Chihuahua, the
787 Eastern Chiricahua chief.

Chihuahua asked him, "Have you seen any Indians on your way here?"

"No."

"I wonder where they are. There used to be many Indians all through there. Maybe they've been driven out of there. I hear you have power to find people and to see the enemy. Suppose you hold a ceremony for us tonight and look for us."

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[538] [15] Stories concerning the acquisition of a ceremony and its successful use are part of the stock in trade of the shaman. In order to insure co-operation and respect from his patient and the on-lookers, he usually
[113] prefaces the ceremony proper by such accounts. For an expansion of this point see Morris Edward Opler, "Some Points of Comparison and Contrast between the Treatment of Functional Disorders by Apache Shamans and Modern Psychiatric Practice," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, May,
[424] 1936, 1371–1387. A ceremony, subject to the approval of the power which is its source, may be passed on by a shaman to another person, and when it is so transferred it is necessary that the novice hear and learn the lore associated with it.

[192] [16] The word *en'ti* (i nasalized) literally means "witch" or "sorcery."

756 A real shaman is one who considers that something talks to him,
778 that he has a ceremony through sun, moon, star, lightning, or
787 cyclone. I hear many say this. I said to one woman, "I hear
you are a shaman." "Yes," she said, "the horse gives me
825 power to do supernatural things. The one who speaks to me,
the horse, lays down the rules." Some people, when they say
"the one who speaks to me," may be talking of the spider, the
deer, or the coyote. Geronimo sang coyote songs and had curing power from Coyote.

778 Power is obtained from all the different animals and birds, from
825 the coyote, cattle, horse, and other things. They all have songs
and they all have ceremonies. The Chiricahua get power from
787 Crow, Eagle, Humming Bird, Cardinal, and other birds too.
They used to say that power talked to them all the time, but
you don't hear that so much now. Wolf power makes you
821 strong. Bear power makes you strong too. Some get power
778 from the sun and moon also. When you get it from these you
can see all over the world, they say. These shine on everything in the world; that's why. And Morning Star and Evening Star are great things too, they say.

In the old times there were those who believed they had power
from the stars, moon, sun, wind, and clouds. Many believed
that these are the best source of power. People can get power
[782] from the whirlwind too; the whirlwind has life. All these
things are prayed to, and pollen is thrown to them by those
who know them. All the stars that are recognized are thought of as personalities, embodying someone who has supernatural power.

821 A person can get power from the snake, deer, eagle, hawks, and
825 insects with a stinger. Power also comes from the sun, moon,
778 stars, wind, thunder, and Mountain People, and even from
small animals and bugs and ants.

Power can come from lightning, thunder, horse, bear, fox, snake, wind, sun, star, rain, Water Monster, Controller of Water, eagle, crow, insects, owl, and everything you can think of.

Sometimes the power takes the form of an animal . . . a horse, a deer, an antelope, a bear, or any other animal that has four legs, such as a coyote. The deer has life; the horse has life . . .

> 787 right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it,
> 778 but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

771 The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious
778 system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they
756 affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and
754 evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and
duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ
182 complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to
[796] harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

> I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the
> [796] person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling super-
> [532] naturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from
> [535] harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We
> [881] have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.

> you. If you see that it is a real power, take it. If it is earthly 787
> and little, don't take it. It will be of great use to you if it is a 778
> real power.

> The instructor will try to make him see how to tell what is great and what is little. He will say, "Such a power spoke to me when I was young, but it was nothing; I did not take it. But another power spoke to me and it was great." Yet the young man has to decide for himself whether a power is worth while when he hears something, for nobody can tell for another person whether what has spoken to him has worthwhile power or not.

Nor can a power grant be induced by desire or special modes of action. The ways of power and its reasons for preferring some of the persons it approaches are sometimes inexplicable.

> It's just like this. There is an English-speaking Indian here. He [156]
> grows long hair and tries to live the way we did in the old days. He has been carrying turquoise around and everything. He wants to be a big man in ceremonies, that's why. But he doesn't amount to anything.

> We can't do anything about it by ourselves, you and I. We might not believe what some others claim about their experiences. We might be sitting here saying, "It's all a lie." Then a spirit might talk to us. Then we'd believe. We'd say, "Well, it happened all right." And we'd have to believe it. We might not believe some man who claims that something spoke to him, and he might be telling the truth. You've got to watch and see which man's power is good.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 202–3.)

Once an understanding is achieved between a power source and 756
a shaman, the Chiricahua derives many benefits. One of these 787
advantages is that the power often acts as a guardian spirit to 778
warn of dangers or to advise concerning undertakings. A shaman [782]
seldom initiates anything important without praying and singing to his power and waiting for a sign or a response. This, for example, is the pledge a power source made to a shaman at the time their association began:

756 787 778 "Live around here. I will be around here with your daughter. One day when you go to war I will be by your side, but you won't see me. If you see a crow fly, it will be I. If you see a coyote, it will be I. If you want to go to war or on a raid, come here first and even if I am not here, talk, and I will be here. Tell me where you are going and ask my advice. Go home. The next day I will draw a picture of what you will get. I will draw deer tracks, horse tracks, and show where you are going to get them. If you see cattle or horse tracks, it means you will get plenty."

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

756 778 Immunity from some of the ordinary perils is another of the benefits which usually accompanies shamanism.

[237] [411] [753] [825] Some men use hawk feathers for arrows, but some are afraid. You have to know power to do it. Only a hawk shaman would do it. It's the same with the buzzard. Not everybody could use the feathers. Formerly the Chiricahua could get very sick from the buzzard.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

755 756 778 The principal function and attribute of the possessor of a power grant, however, is to cure sickness, and the Chiricahua who is able to practice an effective curing ceremony earns respect and even riches.

[556] When I was a boy, a good shaman was highly respected. These are the ones who are known to have kind hearts and that nobody calls witches. A good shaman is wealthy, for he's out curing and everybody gives him something for his cures.

If sickness strikes and special knowledge and ceremony are required, a shaman is hired. It is accepted that he or one of his fellow ceremonialists will, through the cooperation of supernatural power, learn the cause of the difficulty and the proper course of action. The service of supernatural power may range from producing a simple herbal remedy to revealing the identity of a sorcerer.

> When anybody gets sick, they dig up herbs and give them to him. If he doesn't get better, they get a shaman to sing for him. If this doesn't help, they get a wiser man and he finds out what is really wrong; he gets a vision of what medicine is needed, and he tells the family to go out and get the right herbs. If he sees a witch in his vision, they bring the witch to cure the man. 75 778

How two shamans who had power from the same source and were jointly conducting a rite discovered the proper medicine to give a patient is told in one narrative. 755 756 778 787

> They had to find out what was best to give to the one who was sick. So they performed their ceremony in this way. They put buckskin, white as snow, before them. Then they held feathers and said, "Now listen, all of you. We have asked what it is best to use. Listen and listen and wait and wait, and you will hear something coming; you will hear something falling." Then we heard it on the roof, and it dropped on the buckskin before them. "Now here's your medicine," they said. Then they asked their power how to give it, whether it should be ground up or what. They found this out from their power too. But I saw them fail in many cases too. I don't know why. It looks as though they should have been able to cure any disease, being as strong as that. But they failed sometimes. Maybe they gave up purposely.

The belated attempt of one of these same practitioners to find a remedy which would stem an epidemic of influenza is described in another account. 75 731 778 787

> Now he sang songs about different medicines. He sang about one herb and then another. There was no sign that any of these would help. Then he started on the trees. He got to juniper. Then he stopped. His power had showed him that juniper was good. "What kind of juniper?" he asked. His power told him to name the junipers. "Alligator bark juniper?" he asked. "No." "Rock juniper?" It was not right either. "One-seeded juniper?" "You've got it," said his power. He started another song. Right at the beginning he stopped. He nodded. "There are four," he said, "'slim medicine' (*Perezia wrightii*), sumac, piñon, and one-seeded juniper. The roots of the first two can be used and the needles of the last two.

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731
778
787 Use these and it won't hurt you." But death was around already and he didn't sing any more. My family got busy. We pounded up a whole sack of the needles of the one-seeded juniper, and others did it too.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 223.)

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756
778 Usually, however, it is enough if the shaman simply performs his ceremony as he has learned it from his power source; if he chants his prayers, sings his songs, and manipulates his sacred substances in the correct manner he may expect that the power source will be gratified and will intercede to restore the patient to health.

[158] P. went to see this boy who was a lunatic. They had to catch the boy every afternoon, for he had a fit and was a danger. After praying, P. made the cross and put pollen in the boy's mouth. When he started, the boy was tied hand and foot to the bed. P. sang the songs for him. After he had finished his ceremony, the boy was all right. He works now and is still well.

756
778 The shaman feels the importance of his position and must protect the dignity of his power source as well. Therefore his services must be requested humbly and in a prescribed manner.

[551] When you need the help of a shaman you call his name (the personal name is used only in emergencies), plead with him, and put a cross of pollen on his foot. Then there is no question about it; he must help you.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 258.)

A successful shaman is paid liberally at the conclusion of a cure, but even before a rite may begin, ceremonial payment to the power source must be made.

His power always requires special things for a shaman to cure with, and you must have these ready. If you don't know what these are and don't want to ask him (some shamans don't like to say anything about what you must pay them), you must go to someone he has cured to find out what to give him when

he comes. These articles have to be given to the shaman if 756
the cure is to be a success. They are given before the ceremony 778
really gets started. Pollen, turquoise, abalone, feathers, white
shells, and a black-handled knife are among the objects which
may be needed.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

Whether or not he expects all of them as ceremonial payment,
the shaman has a variety of ritual paraphernalia and substances
on hand to be used in the ceremony: some combination of
pollen, eagle feathers, abalone, turquoise, unblemished buckskin,
animal parts, baskets, designed clothing, specular iron ore, a
carved and designed cane or staff, yellow ochre, various other
paints, plants, and medicines. The attitude toward some of these 756
sacred substances and objects and the manner in which they are 755
used are detailed thus by informants: 778

> In my ceremony I use tule pollen at sunrise. The next night I 824
> use piñon pollen. The third morning at sunrise I use pollen
> from pine. The fourth day at noon I use sunflower pollen. All
> shamans use pollen. It stands for life and health. In a ceremony I saw Geronimo perform, he used pollen to make signs
> to the directions and then put the pollen in the sick man's
> mouth. He made crosses of pollen on the man's head, chest,
> right shoulder, back, and left shoulder.

> Abalone has life. It has lots of good. Everything good is in it. 756
> Many shamans use it. Many of them say that without it they 755
> cannot carry on their ceremonies. When it is real blue inside 778
> it is male. This is the most powerful kind. When it is not 237
> the good color, when it is greyish, it is female. For my ceremony I polish the outside and use the scrapings for medicine. 825 [822]
> It is good for any kind of pain anywhere. It is also a protection against witches. I put some in medicine to cure lightning [831]
> sickness too.[2] [789]

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[2] It is interesting to note that while abalone shell contrasts with turquoise, the representative of the male principle in Chiricahua religion, and [831]
stands for the female principle, abalone which is bluish inside is called [822]
"male" and abalone which is pinkish or whitish is termed "female." Evidently the alternation in both instances is due to a color-sex association, blue for male and a light color (pink, white, grey) for female.

756 These staffs figure in ceremonies. The shaman is directed how
778 to make them by his power. They may be decorated with
[237] feathers or with something pertaining to the ceremony of the
one who makes it, perhaps a snake or lightning. They vary in
size.

[787] A shaman can hear from the power through the turquoise and
feather. When the shaman prays he uses the feather. If the
feather raises itself, he knows the prayer is heard. If the turquoise moves, it is the same.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 260–61.)

756 The shaman makes certain that any spectators at the ceremony
755 he conducts are reverent and well-behaved. Not infrequently
796 there are special obligations which remind the on-looker of the
784 solemnity of the occasion. About these insistences, a younger,
[576] socially-minded Chiricahua explained:

> It was pretty hard for us younger people to attend. There are always restrictions on everyone who is there. For some ceremonies you can't leave before it is all over for that evening; for some you can't sleep. So we didn't care so much to be at these curing ceremonies. But we always went to the girl's puberty rite, for you could always have a good time there.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

755 The source of power, speaking through the shaman, usually
756 places some food or behavior restriction on the patient. Failure
784 to observe this is construed as carelessness or levity in respect to
[778] the rite and is likely to lead to a relapse. Many of the failures
to cure permanently are explained in this way. Some of the
[787] most common post-ritual restrictions are summarized in these
statements:

> The shaman has his reasons. He doesn't always tell the patients why, but he tells them to keep the paint (which has been applied during the ceremony) on for so many days before taking it off.

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> When a shaman finishes a curing ceremony over you, he gives 756
> you directions about things that you must not do or eat. . . . 784
> Restrictions that I have seen put on people are these: the [262]
> person must not let anyone stand to the east of him; he must not let anyone cast a shadow on him; he must not eat meat from a cow's head; he must not eat liver; he must not eat bacon; if someone gives him a piece of fruit and it drops, he must not pick it up again and eat it.

> If you are sick the shaman might tell you, "Don't let anyone stand to the east of you, in the way of the sun." Then you don't like it and tell anyone doing it to sit down. Some have a restriction that no one can stand over them; others that no one can stretch out his feet before them.

(*See also An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 265–266.)

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From what has already been described it is evident that, in 778
the view of the Chiricahua Apache, the usefulness and success of the shaman are directly related to the rapport he establishes with the power which has chosen to "work through him." If his power is somehow alienated or angered, the ceremonialist will pray and sing his sacred songs in vain. Therefore a Chiricahua
is extremely circumspect when referring to his power. An in- [829]
formant expressed some wonder that "the white man in his swearing uses things and people that he says he believes in and calls holy. When a Chiricahua swears, he mentions only things
he fears and hates." In making decisions which involve his cere- 756
mony a shaman's power must be consulted. This is vividly re- 778
vealed in the musings of the shaman who had misgivings over 787
discussing details of ceremonial lore.

> It is a big thing to me. I'm afraid of it. Something is holding me back. I might put myself in trouble with the power . . . and today I feel that the power is holding on. I feel in my heart and mind that something is holding me back. I'm afraid. Tonight I am going to sing to my power. I am going to ask about the things that I have given (told) you. "Is it right to do that?" I am going to ask my power. I don't know what you are going to do with this (information) but Power will tell

> 756
> 778 me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to
> 787 find out whether it is all right to go on with it.

756 The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of
778 power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the cere-
784 mony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the power, in addition.

> A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

> [761] When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or
> [753] death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207–10.)

756 Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close as-
778 sociation with his power source in a positive light. It provides
787 him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of
182 emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scolding it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.